

Max J. Friedländer
Early Netherlandish
Painting

Jan Gossart and
Bernart van Orley

Early Netherlandish Painting

'This new edition, translated from the German, brought up-to-date in some respects and augmented by about two-thousand new illustrations, will not so much revive (which would not be necessary) as make more readily accessible, more useful and, if only by way of comparison with the original, more pleasurable one of the few uncontested masterpieces produced by our discipline. These fourteen volumes—their publication begun at Berlin in 1924 and, after the appearance of Vol. XI in 1933, continued at Leyden from 1935 to 1937—summarize and conclusively formulate what M. J. Friedländer knew and thought about a field which he, with only Ludwig Scheibler and Georges Hulin de Loo to share his pioneering efforts, had been the first to survey and to cultivate. And what M. J. Friedländer then knew and thought will never cease to be worth learning.' (From the Preface by E. Panofsky)

Jan Gossart and Bernart van Orley

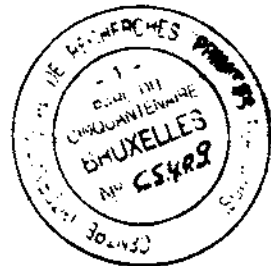


Max J. Friedländer

Early Netherlandish Painting

VOLUME VIII

Max J. Friedländer



Jan Gossart and Bernart van Orley

COMMENTS AND NOTES BY

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Foreword

In this volume my endeavours turn upon Jan Gossart and Bernart van Orley, two masters resolutely and consciously expressive of the spirit of the 16th century, in contrast to those I have described before. At the turn of the century, Gerard David and Quentin Massys were already firm and mature personalities, resisting the trend of the times. Gossart, on the other hand, was still young and flexible, eager to learn, while van Orley was but a boy. Rejection of the Netherlandish tradition, uncertainty in style, a capacity for change—these qualities were peculiar to the new generation. The lifework of Jan Gossart, like that of van Orley, falls into divisions that are sharply distinct, one from the other.

Method must fit the object of study, indeed must be gained from it. Ideally, to be sure, one prefers to immerse oneself in the authenticated works of a master and to take away from such experience memory images with which to compare other works and perhaps identify them as works by the same master. But to be successful this method requires the painter to have been consistently ingenuous and original in his output. Yet in the case of both Jan Gossart and van Orley aspiration outweighed inner compulsion. The 'expert' must not deceive himself that stylistic analysis alone will get him to his goal. He will need all the help he can get; and in particular he will have to study documents and signatures with the greatest care.

Of fickle and ambitiously questing masters, especially in a time when taste was radically changing, it must be said that they betray rather than reveal themselves. Masked and disguised, the true personality is recognized in minor traits, bad habits, quirks and foibles.

In respect of biographical details, I have been able to put my trust in Belgian publications, but there is little firm support for stylistic analysis in the older literature. Full documentation on Gossart I have found in Maurice Gossart's *Jean Gossart de Maubeuge*, Editions du Beffroi, Lille, 1902. E. Weiss has conscientiously and fairly critically summarized the findings of pictorial analysis to 1913 (*Jan Gossart*, Hermann Freise, Parchim, 1913).

The archivist Alphonse Wauters—not to be confused with the A. J. Wauters, whose writings I repeatedly quote in the text—has written van Orley's biography (*Les Artistes Célèbres*, Paris, 1893). I myself have endeavoured to compile van Orley's œuvre, as long ago as 1908 and 1909, in the *Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*. I have now been able to do little more than supplement my presentation, and to correct and improve it, where possible.

The Life of Jan Gossart

11

It is popular to try to draw a sharp distinction between the 15th and 16th centuries; and those given to this oversimplification are fond of tackling every Netherlandish painter with a single question: how does he stand towards Italy? Historians are fond of telling us of the dichotomy of a period of national isolation, subject only to direction from within, and a period in which the art of the North is mated with that of the South. Whatever fits into this concept is singled out as a phenomenon of significance. For that very reason, Gossart has become a favourite with the historians. His work begins punctually at the turn of the century. Soon afterwards he demonstrably went to Italy, where he studied and perfected his style. Guicciardini, as an Italian naturally inclined to mark the Netherlandish 'Renaissance' as an epoch, lauds the master from Maubeuge as a pioneer in these words: *Il quale fu il primo che portò d'Italia in questi paesi, l'arte del dipingere Historie, e poesie con figure nude...* [11]. It was indeed Italians who blazed the trail for the historians of Netherlandish art. Not only is Guicciardini's statement about Gossart also found in Vasari, it is repeated by van Mander as well, although not without a slight qualification. Van Mander is a trifle more reserved—for instead of *il primo* he says 'perhaps among the first...' [21]. He then describes a number of paintings that were shown to him as being by Gossart, but they include none to which the statement might properly apply.

Guicciardini, the Florentine who took a close look at the Netherlandish character about 1550, was naturally impressed with the contrast between its painting—ecclesiastical in content, craftsmanlike and limited in form—which he found alien and barbaric, and the liberated style which had burgeoned in his homeland from the soil of ancient culture, and which Jan Gossart had transplanted to the North.

Van Mander's praise was chiefly reserved for Gossart's arrangements, expressive of the new spirit in form and composition, while Guicciardini is fondest of the new content. As heirs to the Romans, his fellow countrymen understood the nude human figure. Ancient statues and reliefs had been dug from the ground and regarded with enthusiasm by Italian painters for some time. Here Northerners found occasion to learn how 'Historie' could be told with the help of nudes. When the term 'Renaissance' came into currency, it was taken to mean the awakening of classical art after a slumber of centuries. True, we see the whole matter in another and less simple light. In the eyes of the Humanists, Gossart was the first Netherlandish painter of the Renaissance, especially since they were more concerned with themes than execution, with trends than achievement. Gossart himself undoubtedly shared their opinion.

Gossart was in Rome in 1508, a member of Philip of Burgundy's entourage. He drew ancient statuary for his cultivated humanist patron. He went to

the original source, in other words. The renown he enjoyed upon his return rested not least on a certain superiority that descended upon him by virtue of his Roman apprenticeship—or rather, he was credited with possessing it on that account. He was esteemed for his classical education by the secular and clerical nobles who traveled far and wide in their quest for refinement and culture—a culture that at the time could scarcely be other than Mediterranean. On one side was the popular and ecclesiastical art of the Netherlands; on the other one that was essentially aristocratic and secular. Gossart managed to avoid the discipline of the town guilds, seeking the favour of great lords instead. He shook off bourgeois craft society and joined a circle that included court dwarfs, poets, jesters and entertainers of every kind—people who dispelled ennui and gratified princely whims, architectural ambitions, love of ostentation, dilettantish thirst for knowledge.

Gossart enjoyed a reputation for unconventional and high-spirited demeanour—on which van Mander serves up a number of anecdotes—but neither is this confirmed nor can it be refuted. Van Mander himself comments quite reasonably that a dissolute way of life is hard to reconcile with Gossart's competence and hard work as a painter. His art certainly shows no trace of inebriety or lack of discipline. Of course, he may have been a braggart who helped himself with a healthy appetite wherever and whenever he could, protected by powerful and tolerant patrons.

In the Antwerp guild records Gossart is entered as *Jennyn van Henne gouwe*, under the date of 1503. In 1505 and again in 1507 he reported a pupil—Hennen Mertens and Machiel int Swaenken. His own name is not on record in Antwerp beyond 1507. His further career was set by the patronage of several members of the Burgundian dynasty. The residences of wealthy lords became his home. He sojourned in Mechlin, Brussels, Bruges, Utrecht and above all Middelburg.

His output of the years from 1515 to 1533 (the year of his death 131) is readily seen for what it is, with the help of works that are authenticated by inscription, some of which are even dated.

The master's beginnings raise many questions and must be filled in and pieced together by stylistic analysis. Whence came Gossart to Antwerp in 1503? What were his origins? Where had he been schooled? What did he bring with him? What work did he do in Antwerp between 1503 and 1508? He was born in Maubeuge in Hainaut, but we never learn whether it was there that he learned the painter's craft. Even if we knew, it would avail us little, for the older art of this town and its region is shrouded in total obscurity. It is entirely possible that he came to the Schelde port by a devious course rather than directly from his home town.

The name Gossart appears repeatedly in documents at Maubeuge¹. As early as 1368, one Jehan Gossart leased a house there. Towards the middle of the 15th century, two brothers can be shown to have dwelt there, Jehan and Nicaise Gossart. In the year 1517, Simon Gossart acknowledged payment for a book binding delivered to the convent of St. Adalgunde. A Simon Gossart is mentioned in 1552 as being in the service of the same institution. A certain

1. Cf. A. Jenepin's data in Maurice Gossart, *Jan Gossart*, Editions du Beffroi, 1902, p. 19.

Nicaise Gossart, mentioned in 1531 in Middelburg, appears to have been a brother of our master, in whose circle he turns up.

However we may arrange these names genealogically, it is certain that the painter came from a family that was deeply rooted in Maubeuge through several generations, and in which the names Jan and Nicasius were traditional. Jan, mentioned around 1450, could be the master's grandfather, Simon, a bookbinder, his father. A *Jacop van Maubeuge*, noted in records as a 'rent master' (perhaps a bailiff) in the service of Bishop David of Burgundy, on estates near Utrecht between 1460 and 1490, has been recently mentioned as the painter's putative father².

Since the documents are silent on the subject of when Gossart was born, we can only resort to deduction. In 1503, when he became a full-fledged master in Antwerp, he must have been at least 25. The engraving in the well-known series of painters' portraits published in 1572 shows the master with a short round beard adorning his face [4]. This fashion came in about 1525, and Gossart looks to be about 45, or at most 50. Hence the year of his birth seems to have fallen between 1470 and 1480, probably nearer the latter date.

A lost portrait Gossart painted of the physician Reynier Snoy in 1528 is said to have carried this inscription: *Malbodius pinxit dum quina decennia vixit*. Taken literally, this would give 1478 as the birth year³ [5].

Gossart's first princely patron was Philip of Burgundy, one of the many illegitimate sons of Philip the Good. Born in Brussels in 1465, he maintained close and intimate relations with the ruling dynasty to which he was kin. He rose to high honours, was created an admiral in 1502, and governor of Gelderland and Zutphen. Rich and open-handed, a dilettante in the arts, a collector and worshipper of antiquity, he took an interest in both Jan Gossart and Jacopo de' Barbari.

On 26th October 1508 there set out from Mechlin an embassy dispatched to Rome by the Emperor Maximilian for diplomatic negotiations. It was headed by Philip, and his staff included as secretary Noviomagus (Gerard Geldenhauer)—and Jan Gossart. We are rather well informed on this journey, which led by way of Verona and Florence to Rome⁴.

Political settlements with the pope—the purpose of the mission—kept Maximilian's confidential emissary in Rome. Philip, treated with friendliness by Julius II, had time to inspect Rome's world of ruins with the interest of an antiquarian. He loved paintings, his private Humanist reports⁵, and was something more than a seasoned connoisseur, for in his youth he had himself tried his hand at painting and the goldsmith's craft. He was familiar, in particular, with the rules and laws of architecture, and these skills and inclinations he shared with Julius II. The pope offered the legate canvasses of great value as gifts, as well as excellent marble statues. Philip accepted only two sculptures, a *Caesar* and a *Hadrian*, whether from modesty or calculation. Those ancient pieces that excited his admiration he had his painter Jan Gossart copy in drawings. *Nihil magis eum Romae delectabat, quam sacra illa vetustatis monumenta, quae per clarissimum pictorem Joannem Gossardum Malbodium depingenda sibi curavit*⁶.

2. Dr. S. Miller, O.F., *Oud Holland*, vol. 34, 1916, pp. 149 ff.

3. *Kronijk van het Historisch Gezelschap te Utrecht*, 1846, vol. 2, p. 147.

4. A. J. Wauters, 'Une Ambassade Flamande', *Revue de Belgique*, Brussels, 1904.

5. Noviomagus, *Vita Clarissimi Principis Philippi a Burgundia*, Strasbourg, 1529 [6].

6. Noviomagus, *Veteris Aevi Analecta*, The Hague, 1738, vol. 1, p. 152.

The mission seems to have started on its way back in the spring of 1509. In any event, on 22nd June 1509 Philip reported to the regent Margaret at The Hague on its success. Gossart seems to have been in Rome as late as July 1509, but he too must have returned soon afterwards, for he is listed in 1509 as member of a Middelburg brotherhood, under the name of *Janin de Waele* (71).

After 1509, Philip usually resided at his Castle Suytborg on Walcheren, where he led the life of a worldly lord, surrounded by scholars and artists, until he was appointed bishop of Utrecht in 1517. He died in 1524. Gossart seems to have followed him to Utrecht. At least, van Mander relates that when Jan van Scorel was young he visited the painter from Maubeuge in Utrecht (81). Yet the art-loving prince does not by any means seem to have monopolized Gossart, or limited his freedom of movement. On the contrary, it would appear that the favour of this prince, who was looked upon as an arbiter in questions of art, was also indirectly of help to the artist, gaining him access to other aristocratic households. Jacopo de' Barbari, by the way, was also in Philip's service until—about 1510—he became the regent's court painter. He died about 1515 and was soon afterwards replaced at Margaret's court by Bernart van Orley. Gossart was occasionally called to Brussels, for example for the solemnities upon the death of Ferdinand of Spain in 1516, when he designed a triumphal chariot. That same year, Ferdinand's successor, King Charles had Gossart paint two portraits of his sister Eleonore 'from life'. In 1523 the master was summoned by Margaret to restore some paintings. From later than 1514 onwards, he enjoyed the patronage of Jean Carondelet, one of the highest clerical dignitaries in the Netherlands, who held the title of Chancellor of Flanders. Gossart painted him at least three times.

After the death of Philip of Burgundy, Gossart joined that lord's nephew Adolph, son of Anthony of Burgundy. Born in 1489, he became his uncle's successor as admiral in Zeeland and died in 1540. He is the 'Marquis van der Veren' of van Mander's record, in whose service the painter remained for several years, and whose wife Anna he supposedly depicted as the Virgin (91).

When Christian II of Denmark was expelled from his kingdom in 1523 and fled to the Netherlands, he first made his home with Adolph of Burgundy. Presumably he made our master's acquaintance on that occasion. In any event, he gave Gossart a number of commissions subsequently. Gossart painted the three children of the Danish king (79, Plate 62) and designed the tomb of his Queen Isabella, who died on 29th January 1526 (Plate 69) (101).

Apart from other obligations, Gossart was chained to Middelburg for some time between 1515 to 1520, because of his work on the high altar at the local abbey, a triptych with double wings so large, they had to be supported on trestles when open. This *chef-d'œuvre* perished in 1568. Dürer saw it late in 1520 and pronounced a rather cryptic judgment: *Nit so gut im Hauptstreichen als im Gemäl.* The centre panel of the altarpiece represented a *Descent from the Cross*, and the abbot of the monastery for which it was done was Maximilian of Burgundy, son of Baudouin and nephew to Philip. Van Mander says that

Lucas van Leyden, at the age of 33—which would be in 1526—visited his fellow artist in Middelburg, who then joined him in a trip through Flanders and Brabant.

So much for the dates. They indicate that Gossart enjoyed the favour of members of the Burgundian dynasty and spent much time in the service of patrons. Although he led an unsettled life, he regarded Middelburg as his domicile and that of his family. On 30th June 1533, he made his will, and soon afterwards, but, in any event, prior to 11th April 1536, he died, probably in Middelburg (11).

Gossart's Work from 1503 to 1513

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Among the paintings by Gossart that are authenticated by signature is the *Adoration* that went to the National Gallery in 1911 (12, Plate 20), from the possession of the Earl of Carlisle. Rather archaic in overall aspect, this showy panel, crowded with figures and done with virtuoso mastery, was painted for the abbey of Grammont and stood in the chapel of the palace at Brussels in the 17th century. It has always been believed—and the belief has hardened into dogma—that this painting was done before the master's Italian journey, i.e. before 1508. But its date of origin is by no means established, and whether we assign it to the time before or after the journey is a matter to be settled solely by considerations of stylistic analysis¹.

The Virgin is seated in the middle, within a building constructed with extreme fidelity to perspective, but of which only the masonry work has escaped total ruination. The Magi and their retinue stand erect, with the exception of the eldest king, who is on his knees. The figures radiate away from the Virgin in several directions, standing at varying but always respectful distances. They parallel the massive vertical pillars and stand out strongly against this masonry backdrop. The rather formal arrangement is softened by the dress, which is courtly and rich, but not over-ostentatious. The first thing to obtrude itself is the static and tectonic logic of the whole composition and its units, emphasized by strong and consistent lighting. The weight of the bodies is almost ponderable. They are rooted to the flat floor like statues to their pedestals.

The proceedings leave an impression as though of a ceremony at court. There is an atmosphere of self-assured dignity and sedate respect rather than of ecstasy, humility or surrender. These men do not bow and humble themselves from some inward compulsion. No world-shaking event, unique and mysterious, is mirrored in their faces and movements. No, these are nobles paying homage to a queen, as demanded by duty and custom, but without forfeiting one whit of their own dignity. Every figure has its own identity—some, indeed, look like portraits. Although angels hover above, the overall impression is one of convincing reality and compelling immediacy. This illusion is achieved by an all-pervading tension, by a loving and triumphant sense of realism. No detail is neglected or glossed over. The painter's acumen extends to the most minute elements, lingering over texture—the crumbling stone, the overgrown walls, the brocade, the golden vessels. The foreshortened features of the first king and of Joseph are not altogether convincing. The two dogs in the foreground are so strikingly real that one learns with some surprise that they are taken from engravings by Schongauer and Dürer.

The drapery lines run for the most part vertically, fitting into the system of stone pillars and columnlike figures. Where they fall upon the ground, the fabrics roll and billow.

1. The panel is signed in two places with the master's incomplete name: JENNINE GOS...

In conscientiousness, precision, splendour and purity of execution, Gossart seems to rival the genius of Jan van Eyck—except that what was once a means to an end becomes, in the grip of his boastful zeal, an end in itself.

The Virgin is dressed all in blue, a colour that dominates the centre. In the wreath of luminous local coloration, red dominates in several nuances, with a bit of green. The robes of the soaring angels corruscate in yellow-blue and yellow-red. The flesh tints are predominantly warm, modelled on the brown side. The panel is in an amazing state of preservation, the brushwork vigorous and flexible, now rich and enamel-like, now tending towards impasto, achieving unifying chiaroscuro effects despite the greatest clarity of detail. Here and there a flutter stirs in the garments, violating the statuesque calm of the figures.

This *Adoration* (12, Plate 20) is certain to have been painted at a relatively early date, before any of the other works authenticated by inscription or generally acknowledged as typical of Gossart, i.e. before 1515. When we assemble in our mind all else that was created in the Netherlands about 1510, when we envisage the run-of-the-mill output of Antwerp in those years², we cannot but marvel at the proud bearing and Renaissance-like secularism of the people in Gossart's panel, at the sure hand with which he achieved such spatial and physical realism. All relieflike limitation to the plane of the picture has been radically overcome. The composition revolves freely in space about the focal figure of the Virgin. The whole structure has been put together and fixed in place by an architect familiar with weights and measures.

Would Gossart have been able to paint a picture with so many figures and with such perfect illusion of space before he went to Italy?

In neither character nor merit is any other work so closely related to this *Adoration* as the exquisite treasure preserved in the museum at Palermo under the name of the Malvagna triptych (2, Plates 4-7). The centrepiece (2, Plate 5) shows a seated Virgin bearing a marked resemblance to the one in the *Adoration* (12, Plate 20). On either side of her, chubby angels, child playmates of the infant Jesus, endeavour to cheer him with music, as he sits rather clumsily in his mother's lap. The Virgin's throne twines upwards in intricate ramifications, like a work of the goldsmith's craft, the ultimate extreme to which the architectural imagination could go in the late Gothic style. Utterly unlike the flat masonry in the *Adoration*, the Virgin is here enshrined, accented, solemnized by the frozen *coloratura* of glittering ornamentation. The pierced fretwork gives a view of a background landscape with wooded knolls and dainty buildings.

On the shutters, seated, are St. Catherine and St. Barbara (?), the latter braiding a wreath, each in company of an angel, and beneath canopies no less richly elaborated than the throne in the centre panel (2, Plate 7).

On the outside of the shutters (2, Plate 6) are Adam and Eve in the Garden of Eden, holding each other closely as in Dürer's woodcut from the *Small Passion*, which was published in 1511. Gossart could have scarcely seen this sheet before that date. One hesitates to draw a conclusion with far-reaching

2. Cf. vol. 7, pp. 85 ff.

consequences, namely that the earliest date that can be assigned to the Malvagna triptych is 1511, i.e. several years after the Italian journey. Such a dating, however, would inevitably involve the London *Adoration* as well (12, Plate 20), for it is painted with the same *brío* and impatient zeal as the triptych. What is astonishing is that Gossart should have revelled so freely in late Gothic 'gingerbread' after his experiences in Rome. Equally astonishing that he should have kept to Dürer's woodcut after having seen ancient nude statues in Rome. Yet how can we escape the conclusion? Could it be coincidence? Could Dürer have taken over Gossart's composition? Could Gossart have seen a drawing by Dürer rather than the woodcut? This last possibility is particularly to the point, since Gossart's couple is reversed from that in Dürer's woodcut. Yet any Dürer drawing we might substitute as a missing link could scarcely have been made much earlier than 1511.

The Malvagna triptych has apparently been in Sicily for a long, long time (2, Plates 4-7). Was it painted in Italy in 1508, or soon afterwards, for some Italian patron Gossart had met in the South?

An argument against this assumption is the fact that the composition was copied more than once in Bruges. Adriaen Isenbrant—or at least the painter whom we are accustomed to call by that name and who beyond doubt worked in Bruges—was familiar with the entire Malvagna triptych. Not only did he copy the centre panel in every detail, he borrowed at least the canopies from the insides of the shutters (2c)³, and Adam and Eve from the outside⁴.

Connecting threads can be traced between Gossart, Sicily and Bruges. The Virgins in the London *Adoration* and the Malvagna triptych remind us of the ideal feminine types of Gerard David. Gossart's patron Jan Carondelet was provost of St. Donatian's in Bruges, where he may have often visited. Among his titles was that of Bishop of Palermo. This may have been purely nominal, entailing no duties whatsoever, yet it might have motivated him to present the Malvagna triptych to the chapel in Sicily, either while he was still alive, or in his last will and testament. A second connection between Bruges, Sicily and Gossart arises in the person of Antonio Siciliano, whose arms appear in the Codex Grimani, as well as in a diptych Gossart probably painted about 1508. We know that Gossart's name appears on a page in the Codex Grimani, which was probably done in Bruges, about 1510⁵. Here is another hint to help in fixing the time of these obscure relationships.

We might picture the situation as follows: Gossart made the acquaintance of the Sicilian in Italy in 1508, painted the diptych for him that is now in the Palazzo Doria in Rome (3, Plates 8-9), accepted his commission to arrange for the creation of an elaborate prayer book in the Netherlands, went to Bruges upon his return to entrust its execution to the most renowned studio there, took a modest part in the work himself and entered his name in token of his rôle as the broker, and possibly supervisor and participant.

This may be nothing more than vague speculation. All the same, it is fairly well-established that the Doria diptych does represent a work by Gossart, done about 1508. This altarpiece is unmistakably described as being in the Palazzo Vendramini in Venice by the oft-cited Anonimo Morelliano, who

3. In a small triptych which has moved from the v. Kaufmann to the v. Pannwitz collection.

4. C. Weinberger auction, Vienna, 1929. A replica is in private hands in Breslau (Wrocław).

5. Cf. Winkler, *Die Flämische Buchmalerei*, 1925, p. 201.

listed the works of art in the towns of Upper Italy about 1520 and who identifies the donor of the diptych as *Messir Antonio Siziliano*. Its left wing shows a *Virgin in the Church*, an exact copy after Jan van Eyck's panel, but quite free of dry pedantry (3, Plate 8). The right wing shows St. Anthony with the donor, kneeling (3, Plate 9). This latter wing would probably have been painted on Italian soil, while the van Eyck copy could have scarcely been done there. A possible explanation might be that Gossart took the little Madonna panel South with him, sold it to the Italian and added the wing with the donor. This theory finds some support in the disjunction between the two wings—the donor is kneeling outdoors, where he cannot see the Virgin inside the church. There are, of course, other possibilities. Gossart might have painted the little altarpiece upon his return for the Sicilian he met in the South; or Antonio Siciliano may have spent some time in the Netherlands himself (12).

Judging from the stylistic impression, the Doria diptych is on the same level with the Malvagna triptych, although it is a bit more archaic in aspect. In his copy after van Eyck, Gossart shows himself to be an adroit disciple, drawing upon tradition with intelligence and able to recreate a formal idiom that then lay some distance in the past. The features of the Virgin depart from the original, in the direction taken by Gerard David. The kneeling Sicilian on the other wing, with his name saint standing behind him, is a figure of nobility. The conventions of altarpiece painting have been relaxed, with hints of romantic story-telling that tickle our imagination. The high-born donor, clad in shimmering damask, wearing spurs on his feet and sword at his side, has clearly dismounted during a ride in the hills, as if overcome with pious awe at the sight of the Virgin—although, strictly speaking, he cannot see her. His fine plumed hat has been tossed upon the grass, as he sinks to his knee. The master may have thought of Dürer's engraving of St. Eustace, with which he must have been familiar, for he borrowed from it one of the dogs he put in his *Adoration*. St. Anthony is shown with lofty brow, sharp features and wide cheek-bones. His smile is somewhat reminiscent of the frozen grin we know from so many figures of the so-called Antwerp Mannerists. The bizarre silhouette of his hood and the fluttering tip of his cassock also bespeak the formal idiom of the Mannerists. The ecstatic face of the donor, softly modelled with faint shadows, is turned to the light. The countryside is constructed like that on the outside of the Malvagna triptych—a carpet of grass strewn with flowers, steep, rocky scarps alternating with soft shrubbery, the background fading away.

However different the three masterpieces we have considered may appear, they are of comparable stature and belong to a single phase in Gossart's development. The question is whether it is indeed his earliest phase, as generally assumed. Can we penetrate beyond it to his beginnings?

F. Winkler has drawn attention to a drawing⁶, in which Gossart's art is shown at another and surely earlier stage (Plate 66). The sheet is unequivocally signed IENNIN GOSA along the hem of St. Catherine's robe, the style of lettering, position and spelling of the name being as in the London *Adoration* (12, Plate 20).

6. In the Copenhagen collection of engravings; cf. *Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, vol. 42, 1921, pp. 5 ff.

With its painstaking and overworked hatching, this pen-and-ink drawing altogether lacks the aspect of a sketch or preliminary study, looking rather like the finished preparatory drawing for an engraving. It shows the Holy Family in the company of Sts. Catherine and Barbara and two angels in front of a richly ornamented edifice. The entire surface is uniformly and monotonously overgrown with fussy curlicues reminiscent of proliferating moss. We can see only the marks of untutored, youthful experimentation, of a stylistic quandary, of misguided aspiration in this undisciplined accumulation of tiny motives, this uncertainty in spatial construction, this exaggeration in proportions and movements, this spongy or corklike porosity of matter.

When we compare the seated saint in the drawing with the corresponding figure in the *Malvagna triptych* (2, Plate 7), agreements and differences emerge, and with them the line of Gossart's development. We perceive echoes of Mannerist peculiarities in the triptych, but also a certain cleansing of form, a process of consolidation and a tranquillity which Gossart at some time managed to carry to completion.

The unexpected documentation seen in the Copenhagen drawing places Gossart squarely within the ranks of the 'Antwerp Mannerists'. The style I here encompass with the multivalent term 'Mannerism' coincides in time with the excesses of late Gothic architecture. It springs from an urge to introduce new, picturesque and animated elements. Superficial and arbitrary, it plays to the grandstand, begets a picturesque sense of turbulence by means of scrollwork and embellishments. It is for the most part the lesser talents who resort to and subsist on this false-front art, this pseudo cornucopia, this surrogate for originality. A few stereotyped characteristics of this style appear again and again—figures that are excessively lean and tall, ribbons set afluttering without appropriate body movements and with no breeze stirring, features intended to be contorted but winding up in a clumsy grin. Mannerism was a big business, with its own conventions and imitators. But who first struck the note? Whence came the vogue?

Gossart was recognized as a master in Antwerp in 1503, the same year as Jan van Leien (who is presumably identical with Jan de Cock), and Jan de Beer became a master in 1504. Here are three painters, setting out in Antwerp at the same time, whom we view as the initiators or at least the earliest representatives of the Mannerist style. Their relation to one another is beyond complete clarification. Perhaps it was Gossart who brought the basic elements of Mannerism to Antwerp from somewhere else, passing on the taint to a few of his fellows. On the other hand, since he was open to many art styles, capable of intelligent imitation (Dürer, Jan van Eyck), inclined to run down every spoor and almost cynically independent of any inner sense of compulsion, Gossart may have stumbled upon and embraced a style just raising its head in Antwerp.

We could wish there were some confirmation of the stylistic peculiarities seen in the Copenhagen drawing. The Albertina does own a drawing showing the Virgin enthroned with Joseph and two female saints (Plate 66) which coincides in many, although not all traits with the Copenhagen sheet?

7. Benesch, *Die Zeichnungen der Niederländischen Schulen*, No. 35.

Lettering along the arm of the saint at the left—OSAN...(?)—should perhaps be viewed as an incomplete signature. The name *Nicasius Gossart van Maubeuge*, written in the lower margin by a hand other than that of the draughtsman, gives food for thought. One is tempted to ignore it, because the first name is wrong, yet such a mistake is hard to explain. It would be more likely for a famous name to be put in place of an obscure one, rather than the other way round, as must have happened here. Jan had a brother named Nicasius. He is believed to have been an architect, on the basis of a document with date of 1531, which records a payment due him for two models and drawings of the old and new gates of the town of Middelburg⁸.

8. M. Gossart, *loc. cit.*, p. 57.

9. Benesch, *loc. cit.*, No. 34, *Abraham's Encounter with Melchizedek*.

10. Vasari Society Publication VII, 17, *The Judgment of Paris* [15].

This trace of his work, however, by no means excludes the possibility that some two decades earlier he may have drawn figures in imitation of his brother, indeed, that he may have been a painter or begun as a painter. There are two further drawings with the questionable signature of Nicasius Gossart, one again in the Albertina⁹, the other in Dublin¹⁰. Since the three sheets, signed with the same name in a later hand, seem not to be by the same master, the signature loses evidential value. Reduced to stylistic criteria, we incline to claim the Madonna in the Albertina for Jan Gossart.

The drawing in Vienna (Plate 66) is no less Manneristic than the one in Copenhagen (Plate 66). The figures are excessively lean and in convulsive movement, adorned with metallic headdress, slashed and puffed sleeves, fluttering veils and ribbons, tassels, bobs and pendants. St. Catherine, seen almost entirely from the back, her face in *profil perdu*, her trunk violently bent backwards, her arms apart in a mannered gesture, is an almost classic example of the kind of agitated posture favoured early in the 16th century as calculated to make a sensational effect.

The swirling veils rather than the materials of the garments appear here brittle, pitted and creased. The drapery folds are hesitant—long and for the most part vertical, breaking sharply. The drawing in the Albertina seems to have been done only a little later than that in Copenhagen. Renaissance forms are mingled more generously with the playful late Gothic elements in the architectural decorations. The bodies move a shade more freely in space. The line is less stealthy and furtive and has gained more accent.

11. *Zeichnungen des Städel-schen Kunstinstituts*, xv, 8.

A third pen-and-ink drawing, which we find in Frankfurt¹¹, is an altogether different utterance, although no less forced and extreme (Plate 68). The inscription *Jan de Mabuyse*, obviously added in a later hand, proves as little as the indistinct characters *go sa*. Yet the style of this drawing leaves no doubt that it comes from the same hand and about the same time as the *Holy Family* in Copenhagen (Plate 66). It shows a grotesque warrior, stalking with feet unnaturally turned out, a comic hero whose armour and helmet are adorned with a fanciful excess of feathers, buckles, metal studs and other embellishments. The bold foreshortening of the head and one arm enhance the mock heroics that speak from the tensed attitude. Witty rather than objective, the draughtsman was intent upon the swirling effect his nervous pen could create. We suspect an obscure yearning for the true heroism and monumentality of ancient statues, here fobbed off with late Gothic goldsmith work.

On the lookout for paintings Gossart might have done at the same time as these drawings, we have a good idea where to search—where else but among that group of paintings, grown into a luxuriant jungle, once catalogued under the now-obsolete name of Herri met de Bles? My first effort to bring order into this mass of for the most part mediocre paintings apparently attracted no interest, encouraged none to share the work, carry it on, criticize¹². It would seem that I must correct my own work, continue the task of dividing and subdividing. Some panels have slipped through the net, because its meshes were too wide. Among them is one of distinction, one that rises above the level of even the best pieces that have been hypothetically linked with the names of Jan de Beer and Jan de Cock. This is the triptych in the museum at Lisbon, with a *Holy Family* occupying the centre panel (1, Plates 1-3)¹³.

The Virgin is seated on a lawn that is thickly set with flowers observed by a botanically trained eye (1, Plate 2). She is surrounded by six symmetrically grouped angels, five of them making music, while the sixth brings on a fruit bowl. The figures, on a relatively small scale, are fitted into a landscape with a superabundance of motives. Minute filigreelike workmanship lends mobility to the whole composition, an air of summer bloom and growth. The right shutter shows St. Barbara, rather dwarfed by a tall tower, the left one St. Catherine (1, Plate 3).

Almost everywhere there are ribbons fluttering to either side, in the nature of wings for the dainty denizens of this earthly paradise. The master seems obsessed by this motive. The weather is fair and not a breeze is in evidence, so the swirling veils and hems are simply sportive ornamentation and playful enrichment. In wealth of sparkling, glittering, infinitely intricate forms, there is nothing to compare with this work.

In dress the holy women resemble their sisters in the drawings at Copenhagen and Vienna (Plate 66). The coincidence extends to detail, especially in the case of the St. Catherines. The bent-back trunk, the sword arm crooked to one side, the headgear with the snailshell disc over the ear and the fluttering wimple—everything here as before is in the same tireless, even staccato.

In an incomparably fine state of preservation, the triptych seems a little maturer than the drawings, a degree more disciplined in its proportions and postures. Comparing it with the drawings, on the one hand, and the Malvagna altarpiece (2, Plates 4-7), on the other, we can scarcely escape the conclusion that Gossart did the Lisbon triptych soon after the drawings and a few years before the piece at Palermo.

There is a reassuring 'objective' criterion in favour of this attribution. In the centre panel of the Lisbon triptych (1, Plate 2), to the rear of the courtlike plaza, stands a structure, a fountain, displaying the same lush late Gothic imagination as the pointed fountain in the right wing of the Malvagna triptych. Artful fountains in this style are also found in Gossart's St. Luke panel in Prague (24, Plate 28) and in the Adam-and-Eve panel at Hampton Court (9, Plate 18).

I feel justified in proposing the ascription to Gossart of a panel with St.

12. *Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, vol. 36, 1915, pp. 65 ff.

13. Arundel Club, III, 1906.

George (21, Plate 25), apparently painted a little later than the Lisbon triptych. It has moved from the Bryan collection to the Historical Society of New York, where it is catalogued as a Dürer, on the basis of a spurious monogram of that German master. In full panoply, mighty plumes sprouting from his helmet, the hero bestrides a rearing charger and raises his sword against the dragon which holds a piece of broken lance in its claws. In the right middleground kneels the princess. The decorative instinct has been given free rein in the dress and adornments of the sainted knight, his armour, caparison, saddle and bridle. The garment bursting from beneath his cuirass has the same minute detail, creased appearance and deep, narrow recesses as the angel robes in the Lisbon altarpiece. The ground at the back rises steeply on the right and carries dark, rounded trees, castles rooted in rock and rocks that look like castles. The rocks tower into the clouds and remind one of the landscape in the donor wing of the Doria diptych (3, Plate 9).

We have now assembled two groups, and each of them includes one signed work. In the group that is apparently of earlier date, it is the drawing in Copenhagen (Plate 66); in the other, the London *Adoration* (12, Plate 20). A number of features show how the two groups are related, confirming the evidence of the signatures; yet the differences and changes in style clamour for explanation. Let us compare the Lisbon triptych (1, Plates 1-3), as representing the first group, with the Malvagna altarpiece (2, Plates 4-7), from the other. Here are two works that are similar in theme and format and, therefore, eminently suitable for fruitful comparison. The formal idiom has changed radically. The Virgin's glorification has been managed with quite different means in the two works. In the Malvagna triptych, the figures fill the foremost space in the picture, while in the older painting they are inserted into the landscape almost like stage props. The master has moved away sharply from forms that were lean and pointed to bodies that have breadth and weight. An almost hysterical flightiness has yielded to sensuous fulness and wholesome vitality. The picturesque fragmentation of form, the swirling, swinging, fluttering robes have all but vanished.

When and where did Gossart cast off the tinsel and show of Mannerism, in favour of firmness and tranquillity? I think this could have happened only in Italy, that is, not before 1508.

I am prepared to hear objections to this view. The effect of this journey has been pictured in a rather different manner. The immediate effect of Gossart's experiences in Rome is supposed to have been a penchant for the nude, the mythological, 'Poesie' and 'Historie'.

Let me marshal the arguments for my contention. If the Malvagna triptych (2, Plates 4-7) was painted after 1511, which seems likely, in view of its borrowing from the Dürer woodcut, then the London *Adoration* too can have scarcely been done before the Italian journey (12, Plate 20). The donor wing of the Doria diptych (3, Plate 9), presumably painted in Italy, is more archaic in aspect and contains more Mannerist elements than the *Adoration*. There is one drawing Gossart beyond doubt made in Rome, that is, in 1508 (Plate 69)¹⁴. It shows an ancient statue in the Casa Sassi, then regarded, with

mingled curiosity and admiration, as a hermaphrodite—actually, it is a mediocre Roman copy of an Apollo. Gossart's drawing tells us something—although not very much—about his visual approach in 1508. We are indeed able to compare his drawing with the actual statue, which is now preserved in Naples, as well as with another drawing from the same statue, perpetuated in an engraving by Marcantonio¹⁴. The statue itself is fragmentary, but Gossart completes it—wrongly, to be sure. It is rather soft in its lines—which is the very reason why it suggested a hermaphrodite—but Gossart tries ardently to articulate it. Barren of all feeling for the flow of classical drapery, he makes his fabric look hard and brittle, with much small detail, departing strangely from the original. He has gone over every inch of the torso, eager to learn, to enter into it, and he adds accents that reveal the goldsmith of the late Gothic age. Yet to compare this drawing with other works of Gossart is not immediately fruitful, for to draw an ancient statue offered a challenge singular in kind. If it is at all proper to venture into dating it from stylistic analysis, I should be inclined to put the drawing in Venice earlier than both the London *Adoration* (12, Plate 20) and the *Malvagna* triptych (2, Plates 4-7).

A drawing of the Roman Colosseum, in the Berlin Kupferstichkabinett, was done by Gossart presumably in 1508 (Plate 69). It shows him quite unable to encompass this ancient structure as a whole. For all his pains and fine hatching he got only an accumulation of crumbling units.

The spirit of classical sculpture and architecture never became part and parcel of Gossart. The statues remained to him alien objects, to be rendered rather than recreated. It is understandable that he should have resorted to Dürer's woodcuts and engravings, even after the Italian journey, when it came to the challenge of the nude; and equally understandable that he should have taken pleasure in painting buildings in the late Gothic style during the post-Italian period.

The idea of nudity, male and female, derived from classical sculpture, had first appeared to Gossart in the guise of Dürer's engravings, and it was in that translated form that it remained most congenial to him for a long time. He had come to know Dürer's *Adam and Eve*, before his journey, possibly through Jacopo de' Barbari.

To him Dürer was a teacher who interpreted the beauties of antiquity. The leg position of the hermaphrodite in his drawings (Plate 69) is 'corrected' after the model of Dürer's Eve. The reality of the marble failed to extinguish remembrance of the engraving. Quite the contrary, the sight of nudes reminded him of the German's sharp and precise workmanship. Gossart's mastery of ancient sculpture was that of an engraver and disciple of Dürer. What a curious historical muddle! To an Apollo, which he mistakes for a hermaphrodite, Gossart gives the leg posture of Venus, because he is thinking of Dürer's Eve, who is in fact descended from Venus.

The Thyssen collection has acquired a remarkable *Adam and Eve* from the Gotisches Haus in Wörlitz (8, Plate 19). Its gifted painter copied the nude bodies from Dürer's engraving with a precision that honours the model. He was a resourceful interpreter rather than an ordinary copyist. True, he took

14. It is in the Accademia at Venice, and a reproduction appears in my *Von Eyck bis Bruegel*, Pl. 22.

15. Bartsch, 333.

over much of Dürer directly, but he also introduced well-considered changes. The heads are entirely his own, in type and posture, and the beasts have been omitted. Judging from the style—the formation of the foliage, for example—none other than Gossart painted this panel, and about 1508, at that. The brownish flesh is elaborated with the eager zeal and thirst for knowledge of the anatomist, and the vegetation with the knowledge of the botanist.

The *Agony in the Garden* in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum in Berlin is usually lumped with Gossart's youthful works (13, Plate 21). It is a night piece, astonishingly consistent, and painted with a bit of legerdemain. Pale moonlight, magically reflected from the bodies upon which it impinges, from the slaty, stratified rock, the trees, the overcast sky, shines luminously through the transparent, adamantine darkness. The radiance is strongest on the youthful countenance of the praying Saviour and the foreshortened features of the sleeping St. Peter. The armour of the approaching guard gleams in the right background. Light, space, countryside—all that we see—tell their own story, the story of a night fraught with crisis, of the solitary vigil of the Saviour who knows his destiny. Formal analysis suggests a date soon after the London *Adoration* (12, Plate 20)—the flat, angular spread of the garments of Jesus and the Apostles, virtually without swell and billow, nothing whatever aflutter. The angels aloft in both paintings resemble one another.

The pictures done soon after 1508 have a provocative power that comes from the depths. The London *Adoration* includes portrait heads that are sharply individualized.

As for the actual portraits Gossart did between 1508 and 1513—to judge from the style—they form but a small group. It includes the *Portrait of a Young Man* in the Cook collection at Richmond (61, Plate 48). The sitter holds a book in his hand, and the haft of his sword gleams against his dark cloak. A panel of patterned stone, moulded at the edge, forms the background, a type of which the master was very fond. He chooses it from a desire to isolate the sitter, to separate him from the workaday worlds, to enhance the portrait in a monumental sense. Despite his youth, the man looks out from narrow eyes, shaded by the brim of his hat, with a suspicious, hostile and contemptuous expression. The wide mouth, firmly closed, draws down towards corners that are like punctures. There are signs of an early origin, such as we see in the portraitlike heads in the London *Adoration* (12, Plate 20)—a certain sinuous tension, deep shadows in the nature of chiaroscuro and, finally, the strongly emphasized hollow that runs from the centre of the nose to the lips. It bisects the mouthline from above, as does the prominent chin from below. The hand makes a somewhat formless impression.

The same air of resolute gravity and menacing willpower pervades the likeness of a man of mature years, owned by A. Volz at The Hague (64, Plate 49). It seems to represent a wise, austere magistrate, or a judge of inexorable temper. The neckline sweeps up into the brim of the hat, which overcuts the brow obliquely. The mouth is shaped rather similarly to the portrait in the Cook collection. The hands are idly joined, as in the earliest Carondelet portrait, painted about 1514, but the forms are less round and expansive (51,

Plate 45). The earliest portraits are marked by an expression of contained resolution and taut energy. In the years to come, Gossart was to achieve a more relaxed, opulent and expansive kind of representation, and with it went a more casual characterization.

The small *Portrait of a Young Man in a Red Cap* (67, Plate 52)—apparently an Italian, the painting coming from Genoa—in the Haass collection in Detroit may have been painted in 1508. Here the deep hollow running from nose to generous mouth is extended in breadth as well, and the narrow eyes are again in shadow.

A *Portrait of a Man*, in Copenhagen (69, Plate 53), is the last to belong with the group of likenesses of relatively early date.

In review, all the paintings and drawings that have been here discussed and brought into context in the light of stylistic analysis fit into a line of development that leads, when extended, to Gossart's works done after 1513. The master begins about 1503 as a Mannerist, enlarges, solidifies and simplifies his forms on Southern soil. The study of ancient monuments and statues endows him with the ability to create figures that loom free and proud in space, implants in him the desire to overcome his pleasure and joy in the decoration of surfaces, his ballet dancer's agility, and to strive instead for lucidity in depth, for three-dimensional solidity.

Gossart's Work from 1514 to 1533

The groundwork has been laid, the steps built. The arrow points the way. What Gossart did between 1503 and 1513, and how he did it—this it has been possible to show, with examples. The master's work between 1513 and 1533 I shall arrange by themes. We now step on solid ground, having left the vacillations and unsteadiness of youthful striving behind us. For more than one reason, it becomes rather easier now to avoid lapsing into error in respect of authorship, whether from blundering oversight or premature acknowledgment. For one thing, Gossart speaks in a voice that is firm enough, that bears his unmistakable imprint. Then too, in skill and mastery he rises head and shoulders above his imitators, nor is there any dearth of panels signed in his own hand. Lastly, once certain of his means and effects, he was not easily enticed into adventure and diversion.

A backbone for a chronological structure is provided by the dated and datable works, which I note in the following:

1514 (?): *Portrait of Jean Carondelet*, London, collection of Leopold Hirsch (51, Plate 45). The panel is undated, but the museum at Besançon has a copy bearing the year 1514 (51, Plate 45). Carondelet, moreover, looks younger in it than in the portrait in the Louvre, which is dated 1517 (4, Plate 10).

1515 (?): *St. Luke Painting the Virgin* (the so-called *Prague Cathedral Picture*), Rudolphinum, Prague (24, Plate 28). There is no date on the panel itself. However, the plausible date given is mentioned repeatedly in the literature on this painting, originally in Mechlin.

1516: *Neptune and Amphitrite*, Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin (47, Plate 41). Inscribed with the date.

1516 *Portrait of Eleanor of Austria* (74, Plate 60). There is documentary evidence that Gossart painted the lady twice from life for Charles V. I think I have identified this panel, originally from Italy and now in the collection of August Berg, Portland, Oregon, as one of the two.

1517: *Hercules and Omphale*, collection of Sir Herbert Cook, Richmond (50, Plate 43). Inscribed with the date.

1517: *Diptych with the Virgin and Jean Carondelet*, Louvre, Paris (4, Plates 10-11). Inscribed with the date.

1521 (?): *Venus and Cupid*, collection of A. Schloss, Paris (44, Plate 39). The date cannot be made out clearly.

1523: *Hercules and Antaeus*, Coray collection, Zurich (48, Plate 40). Inscribed with the date. A copy.

1524 (?): *Three Children of Christian II of Denmark*, Hampton Court (79, Plate 62). Since Isabella gave birth to five children between 1515 and 1526, the year of her death, and only three are shown here, the picture can be dated with some assurance.

1526: *Portrait of a Benedictine Monk*, Louvre, Paris (72, Plate 58). Inscribed with the date.

1527: *Danae*, Pinakothek, Munich (48, Plate 42). Inscribed with the date.

1527: *Virgin with Child*, Pinakothek, Munich (27, Plate 29). Inscribed with the date. Original?

28 1527: *The Mocking of Christ* (14b, 14c, 14c, 14f, 14g, 14k, Plate 22). Since several copies of the oft-repeated composition agree in the signature with the date, this is presumably the date of the lost original.

1531: *The Virgin with the Entangled Child* (38a, 38b, Plate 36). One of the very many copies of this composition is inscribed with the date.

1531: *Virgin and Child*, in half-length, Wildenstein Gallery, Paris (32, Plate 31). Inscribed with the date.

1532: *Virgin and Child Enthroned* (28, Plate 30). Preserved in several replicas (28a, 28b, Plate 30), of which the one that is signed and dated is not the best (28b, Plate 30).

In the arrangement of this stock of pictures, it is noteworthy how small is the share that goes to altarpieces with many figures. Madonnas, portraits and panels with a single nude or a pair of nudes predominate. We do, of course, know about the great altarpiece Gossart painted in Middelburg about 1517 which perished; and several drawings tell us about compositions for churches that were planned, or that have become lost, if they were indeed executed. Yet it does seem as though Gossart had a deep-rooted preference for relatively large single figures crowded into a frame and for groups of two or only a few. This, at least, is the direction in which his vision developed after 1513, and a factor in it was the claim made upon him by his highly placed patrons.

During his early period, Gossart favoured a multiplicity of figures, enlarging the entourage of the Holy Family and elaborating the landscape in depth. In his maturity, he concentrated his enhanced skill with form upon the human body seen close up and was fond of shutting off space with a back wall immediately behind the figure. More and more, the tangible fascinated him and he grew to hold in contempt all that was seen afar, all distant vistas, all that was vague, indistinct and blurred.

I shall begin with the narrative devotional pictures, go on to mythological representations and lastly discuss Madonnas and portraits.

Among compositions rich in figures, the *Descent from the Cross* in the Hermitage in Leningrad (18, Plates 15-17) is unquestionably an original by Gossart's own hand, and it is probably identical with the picture van Mander saw in Middelburg, in the possession of Magnus [13]. The biographer speaks of a large painting in tall format, in which the body of Jesus is being let down to the ground, with figures that are about a foot and a half high. All this applies to the panel preserved in Leningrad, which is 141 cm. high. In the process of being transferred to a new wood panel, the pigment layer has lost edge and subtlety.

The ground, rising to the rear, supports an artfully constructed group. Figures that are slightly foreshortened in scale stand by the cross above, as the body of Jesus is being lowered. At lower left in the foreground is the

Virgin with three women, and on the right, in bold foreshortening, a man bending over to pick up the crown of thorns. The posture of this figure may have been taken from Raphael's cartoon for the *Stoning of St. Stephen*, and since this is one of the cartoons for the Sistine tapestries woven in Brussels about 1518, this would provide a *terminus post quem* for Gossart's panel.

The main lines of the composition run along two diagonals. There is the body of Jesus, four heads crowded together at its feet, and parallel to it the Virgin, sunk to the ground in a swoon. The rolling countryside rises in the same direction in the background, showing castlelike buildings on the left.

In every line and shape this panel displays the solid mastery of form Gossart had at his fingertips about 1520, but lacking in Bernart van Orley, under whose name it is catalogued. The bearded man taking the Saviour's feet into his arms and the kneeling Magdalene are mincing and self-conscious in their attitudes. A smooth and tidy polish informs the whole scene, painfully at odds with its tragedy.

The *Prague Cathedral Picture* (24, Plate 28), which comes from the Chapel of the Painters in the church of St. Romuald at Mechlin, is signed on St. Luke's belt: · · GOSSAR · All the same, van Mander mentions it among van Orley's works. Since the painting was brought from Mechlin to Prague as early as 1580, van Mander spread this false information because he probably never saw the work. I have not been able to discover the basis for repeated statements that it was done in 1515 (1141), but this date fits well into my picture of Gossart's development.

The Virgin is seated on one side, St. Luke on the other. He holds a sheet of paper against the thigh of one leg, which is crossed over the other, regards her from a considerable distance and draws her features. The setting is an expansive hall, inappropriately decorated with pseudo antique statuary. In perspective it is painstakingly accurate, but its complex floor plan is confusing. The master seems to be boasting of his architectural ingenuity. On close scrutiny, however, while the structure is solid enough, it is asymmetrical and 'stagy'; and despite the painter's striving for Renaissance forms, the style is less than pure. Parts of it are after classical models, like the coffered ceiling of the corridor leading away to the back, the scallop-shell vault and the statues of Hercules and the boy with the goose¹, but the cornices project too far and the relief work in the dados includes Gothic elements. Outside, in the far background, seen through the corridor as through a telescope, stands an architectural fountain in the late Gothic style and a church façade of curiously Northern construction. The great chamber makes a forbidding effect, like the ostentatious showroom of some barbarian who has accumulated art treasures from foreign parts without knowing anything about them. In any event, Virgin and Evangelist feel ill at ease in this resplendent cage, unable to assert themselves in the face of such obtrusive décor. Evidently Gossart, at one and the same time, wished to give substance to his figures, while yet showing them in proper proportion within the pretentious chamber. Unfortunately, these two ambitions were mutually exclusive.

The fabrics of which the clothes are made have lost all their billowing

1. Cf. P. G. Hübner, *Monatshefte für Kunst*, vol. 4, pp. 20 ff. It is shown here that the original model was in the Casa Savelli in Rome.

flow, radiating along the ground in sharp-edged crystalline fields, as though in thrall to the dominant architectural lines.

The master had a second opportunity to tackle this theme, and he did it in an altogether different way, stimulated perhaps by an Italian model (23, Plate 27). At the time when he did the painting for Mechlin, about 1515, he stuck to the traditional scheme dating back to Rogier van der Weyden, pursuing fashionable novelty of the day chiefly in the interior decoration of what was an ancient palace hall, according to his lights. The Virgin 'sits' for the Evangelist, much as a princess might pose for her court painter. But in 1520, when the master designed the painting now preserved in the museum at Vienna, he thought matters over and broke with naïve tradition, simply from common sense. The Evangelist, after all, did not paint the Virgin from life, when she walked the earth with him. She appeared to him miraculously, in timeless divinity, with the child—or his creative faith conjured up her image. In the Vienna picture, the Virgin, borne aloft and escorted by angels, glides down on a cloud into the chamber of the painter, who kneels at a prayer stand as he draws with a metalpoint needle, while an angel standing behind him guides his hand. Heaven inspired the Evangelists when they penned their Gospels, and heaven inspires this one as he illustrates the sacred text.

The Virgin is shown in an altogether different degree of reality from St. Luke. This is an unexpectedly mystical notion, in the spirit of the Italian High Renaissance, and also one that anticipated the Enlightenment. True, this Netherlander was more of an enlightener than a poet or a mystic, and his representation is full of earthly grace.

The back wall, pictured close up, is pure Renaissance, with pilasters and round arches, medallions and borders filled with ornamental high relief². Gossart had brought back sketches from Italy, to which he resorted on occasion. He acknowledged as his teachers Italians like Jacopo de'Barbari and Filippino Lippi, to the extent that they were in his eyes connoisseurs of antiquity. Filippino's ornamental reliefs were accounted reproductions of Roman 'grotesques'. But Gossart used the things he had brought with him only at a late date, inconsistently and superficially. If his visual experiences around 1508 had indeed at one stroke profoundly affected his taste and style, the effects of his Italian models should be most clearly expressed in works done immediately after the journey. Such, however, is not the case. The *Prague Cathedral Picture* (24, Plate 28), painted about 1515, looks less Italian than the *St. Luke* at Vienna (23, Plate 27), done at least five years later. As a painter, Gossart remained under the spell of Netherlandish tradition. Presumably, he esteemed Jan van Eyck more highly than any Italian master—even after the journey—and imitated him with deep understanding. And, also after the journey, he continued to take the greatest pleasure in creating ornament and architecture in the late Gothic style. Renaissance forms, on the other hand, he used only with zealous pedantry, often quite wrongly. Yet he favoured ancient motives more and more, following the current trend, and in deference to his humanistically educated patrons.

Gossart himself borrowed the three main figures from the Ghent altarpiece

2. Copied in part after Filippino Lippi's frescoes in the Church of St. Maria Sopra Minerva in Rome. This was proved by Charlotte Aschenheim, *Der Italienische Einfluss in der Flämischen Malerei*, Strasbourg, 1910, p. 23, Pl. I.

—the Savior, the Virgin and the Baptist—in a wide panel, now preserved in the Prado (19, Plate 24). Undated, it has been thoughtlessly and conveniently lumped with the group of works done before the Italian journey. This dating is quite impossible. A mere glance at the heavy, bony, fully elaborated hands and at the angel added to the Eyckian figures shows plainly that this work cannot have been done before 1514, despite the Gothic framework. Rather than a copy, it is more in the nature of a self-assured paraphrase, homage paid to the progenitor. Gossart seems to be saying: This too I can do! A son of the new age, I am still able to equal the best of the old. Presumably he thought in all seriousness that he could improve upon the motive. He was a restorer and connoisseur in the technique of Netherlandish painting, and was esteemed as such by the regent Margaret, who summoned him to Mechlin in 1523 to restore certain old paintings.

The bust-length figures are separately framed within painted arches in the late Gothic style. Up above is a circular aperture in which appears an angel, reminiscent of the angel of the Annunciation in the Ghent altarpiece. There is a close correspondence with the archaic model, and some of its noble gravity has been preserved, but there is a certain swelling breadth, a wavy rhythm in the contours, with silvery, patchy reflections. These qualities, peculiar to Gossart's mature style, make it relatively easy to discern his hand.

Gossart also responded to the challenge of concentrating the tragic meaning of the Passion in a single figure, essentially a mission for the sculptor. He did so in a panel now in the Colegio del Patriarca at Valencia (20, Plate 25). This painting, about 90 cm. high, shows only the unclothed figure of Jesus which, crowding the frame, makes an enormously stalwart impression. The athletic body, seated, heavily, is so turned and inclined that the upper part fits into the semicircle of the frame like a medallion. The large head is supported by the Saviour's right hand. A linen cloth lies across his thighs, falling to the ground, where it twines between the spread legs. Breast, shoulders and thighs emerge luminously from deep shadows and are sharply moulded. The Spaniards have failed to recognize the Saviour in the picture, believing it to represent instead Samson defeated. Gossart succeeded in this instance in combining sheer physical bulk with emotional expressiveness. The melancholy of the hero, who despairs after hard and fruitless labour, evokes the spirit of Michelangelo.

A *Mocking of Christ*, which Gossart apparently painted in 1527, enjoyed great popularity. It was copied on many occasions. The original appears to have been lost. Several of the replicas agree in showing the year 1527 next to the signature (14b, 14c, 14e, 14f, 14g, 14k, Plate 22). Arresting the action, the master isolates the Saviour, sitting unclothed on a stone step, in the rôle of martyr. Legs crossed and hands folded, he is motionless as he looks out into the distance beyond his tormentors. This is no wounded Man of Sorrows, but a hero still in possession of his strength who has renounced all resistance of his own free will. The hateful fanaticism and indifference of his adversaries is expressed by three heads that rise chest-high to the main figure, behind the stone steps.

We are still in search of the 'Poesie' and 'Historie'. The extant pictures disappoint a little. There is a *Venus and Cupid*, a *Danae*, a group of wrestlers, and pairs of lovers—*Mars and Venus*, *Neptune and Amphitrite*—not very much more is to be found among the panels. Gossart, however, sees Adam and Eve very much in the light of his compositions from mythology, freeing them of their devotional appurtenances. Quite evidently, the master was determined to dazzle, but when faced with a pagan theme and the challenge of nudity, his Netherlandish traditions deserted him and he was thrown back upon dim memories, upon such support as the engravings of Dürer, Jacopo de'Barbari and Marcantonio could afford him, upon the study of live models and, lastly, upon his own slow-moving imagination. He aimed high in respect of anatomical accuracy and variety of posture, but his effort went no further than the single effigy, or the combination of two figures met in love or struggle. He centred all his powers upon artful and conscientious elaboration, and he fastened upon relatively simple themes, like a sculptor, instinctively avoiding the by-ways of story-telling and epic breadth.

Philip of Burgundy adorned his palace with paintings that fitted in with the statues the pope had presented to him. He was an admiral, and Neptune was his pagan patron. It was for him that Gossart made his painting of the large nude figures of the god of the sea and Amphitrite, now preserved in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum at Berlin (47, Plate 41). The large chilly, mirror-smooth and pretentious panel of large dimensions, of which the author was not a little proud, is signed with his full name, the date 1516, the motto A · PLUS · SERA and the name of his patron, *Phe bourgne*.

In a column-lined cell constructed in precise one-point perspective, Neptune and Amphitrite stand side by side, joining arms to form a group. Their heads rise into the architrave. The style of architecture aspires to Doric simplicity and austerity, but, inevitably, elements from antiquity have been wrongly used and combined. There are far too many triglyphs, bucrania and 'beads' against the stone panels. Gossart seems to be boasting of his classical knowledge. Of course, he may have been pointed in that direction by his patron, who fancied himself a connoisseur of ancient architecture. As for the deities, what an opportunity for the painter to demonstrate to his patron the profit to which he had turned his visit to Rome! True, his own sketches and memories deserted him, but he cunningly resorted to Dürer's engravings and de'Barbari's *Mars and Venus*. It is certain that he knew Dürer's *Adam and Eve*³, and when he was faced with the challenge of painting a man and a woman side by side and in the nude, this model rose in his mind's eye. Very probably, he was also familiar with the Venetian's engraving, for in Amphitrite's overlapping knee he departs from Dürer in favour of de'Barbari, although he sticks closely to Dürer in the ponderous proportions and the contours of Neptune. Of course, the stay in Rome had not gone for nothing, and his figures are sturdier and more clearly cubic than Dürer's, let alone de'Barbari's—Jacopo never went beyond being a 15th century Venetian. Yet these borrowings are not altogether flattering to Gossart, for they show how little nourishment and stimulation the sight of Roman statues had given to his vision.

3. See p. 24, above.

Gossart was on terms of familiarity with de'Barbari about 1508, when the aged Venetian, exhausted from his peregrinations, claimed a position at the Netherlandish courts not unlike that of a French dancing master at the German courts in the 18th century. He was, after all, an Italian. He could show the Netherlanders a great deal in his prints and drawings, and perhaps in Dürer's as well.

By 1516, when Gossart did his composition from mythology, de'Barbari was no longer alive, and he was sure he could surpass the Venetian's slack creations, and even the constructions of Dürer, in terms of monumentality, statuesque weight and High Renaissance ponderousness. In point of fact, however, his imagination never cast loose from his predecessors.

A year after the Neptune panel, Gossart did the painting in the Cook collection at Richmond (50, Plate 43). It bears the year 1517, but is not signed with his name, and it shows another pair of pagan lovers, this time Hercules and Omphale. The hero is seated on a bench of stone within a rounded niche, by the side of his companion, an iron-studded club in his arm. Omphale poses strangely and insecurely, half on the stone seat, half on the man's thigh. The four legs are crossed and entangled in one another. Within its classical framework, this daring motive has the effect of an unintentional parody. Here Gossart set out entirely on his own, losing his way in gymnastics and acrobatics. Possibly he was influenced ever so slightly by the memory of Jacopo de' Barbari. At least he is closer in this picture than in any other to the Venetian's eroticism, which is so flaccid as to seem almost perverse to us.

The lines of these complexly intersecting nudes are more pliant than in the Neptune panel, the light is more diffuse and richer in reflections, the execution no less painstaking. Parted lips bespeak carnal desire. The man's profuse growth of hair gives the impression of a wig. Not a hair is out of place in the woman's artful coiffure, which includes the typical lock before the ear, without which Gossart's conception of classical 'beauty' was not complete.

The *Danae* in the Pinakothek in Munich (48, Plate 42), signed and dated 1527, squats heavily with crossed feet on a low step, a seated posture often assumed by Gossart's characters. She is draped as she receives the rain of gold, elaborated as an ornamental pattern, in her gathered robe. There is about her an air of a brood-hen in a coop. The closely encircling colonnade emphasizes the three-dimensionality of the figure; and the painter has given naïve, trivial and at once pretentious expression to the legend. Next to the positive and dominant blue of the robe, the cool, opaque flesh with its grey shadows seems tinged with yellow. In the background are buildings of one kind and another, pale and languid in tone. It was van Mander who admired the blue robe of one of Gossart's Madonnas. The immaculately preserved Munich panel comes to mind.

Away from pagan themes, our first parents gave Gossart occasion for introducing the erotic element. Nothing drew his imagination more than the Fall of Man. Familiarity, embrace, seduction, the opposites of sex—these themes he elaborated more than any others; and in his eagerness for new solutions, he moved on to daring and sometimes even tasteless motives.

Gossart's three paintings and four drawings of the Fall of Man afford a matchless opportunity for studying his peculiar character, his boundless striving for originality, his cold-hearted secularism, the convulsive paroxysms of his innately sluggish imagination. The paintings are at Hampton Court (9, Plate 18), the Kaiser Friedrich Museum (10, Plate 19) and the Berlin Schloss (11, Plate 19), the drawings in the Albertina, in the Bondy collection in Vienna, in the Städel Institute and at Chatsworth (Plate 64).

In the large panel at Hampton Court (9, Plate 18), Adam and Eve are aligned side by side, much as Neptune and Amphitrite, arms about each other's shoulders. Gossart seeks to tell the story of Original Sin, to express guilt and repentance, investing the group with a sense of movement and dancelike unrest. He indulges in an absurd pictorial notion. Adam points a finger to his open mouth, as though he had damaged a tooth in eating the Forbidden Fruit.

In the somewhat similar Berlin picture (10, Plate 19), Adam, with a vehement gesture, seems eager to flee from the temptress.

In the painting preserved in the Palace at Berlin (11, Plate 19), as well as in the drawings, affection and coyness are expressed, tenderly or brutally, by the inclined and twisted limbs. In a spirit of rationalist enlightenment, and in artistic pursuit of anatomical accuracy and complex movement, the master removes the first parents from the chaste sphere of religious symbolism, giving instead a straightforward and even suggestive account. The thought of the elemental event arouses the dramatist in him like no other.

None of the representations of the Fall of Man is dated by inscription. Since we have seen how awkwardly, cautiously and tentatively Gossart depicted the nude human body in motion in the years just after his Italian journey, we incline to the view that he achieved autonomy and freedom in this sphere only gradually and rather late, when his memories of Italy had begun to fade. In my own view, all the representations of the Fall of Man, with the possible exception of the drawing in Chatsworth, were done after 1520.

The Virgin was a theme Gossart favoured, however little he was drawn to sentimental Mariolatry by natural inclination. He isolates the Mother of God, puts her into close physical association with her strapping child, sometimes accommodates the father in the shallow picture space and is for the most part content with pictures at half-length or bust-length. He foregoes any documentation of genrelife domesticity, any appeal to familial piety, preferring simply to project full-blown, wholesome bodies in the fulness of three-dimensional illusion. Angels, whose presence might lend supernatural significance to the Holy Family, are sacrificed to his rationalistic sense of reality.

His groups are relatively large in proportion to the picture area, and he is fond of shutting them in from the back with a neutral, dark ground or some architectural wall. Almost invariably he avoids any deep view into the distant landscape.

He did few engravings. When he did take burin in hand, soon after 1520, probably stimulated by the example of Dürer, he engraved two Madonnas.

One of these sheets, a Virgin in half-length is dated 1522 and signed JMS—*Johannes Malbodius Sculpsit*. The other, in full-length, is signed the same way, but not dated.

Of his paintings, two found the loudest applause, at least in terms of the large number of replicas and copies. They are the Madonna in which the child is entangled in his mother's long kerchief (38a, 38b, 38c, Plate 36); and the full-face Madonna, with the Child shown with His hair parted in the middle (39a, 39b, 39c, 39g, 39h, Plate 37).

An astonishingly large number of copies of the former composition have turned up, made, not in the master's own workshop, but by imitators who were busily at work about 1550⁴. There is a specimen with Gossart's signature and a date of 1531, a year that may well apply to the lost original. There is an endearing lightheartedness to this highly popular composition, yet Gossart's serious and pretentious approach does not quite carry it off. The parted-hair design seems to have been repeated a number of times in the master's own studio. There exist several replicas of equal merit that can lay claim to being originals. Since the Virgin's features in this Madonna are rather portraitlike, we are tempted to believe that a remark by van Mander applies to it. The biographer relates that when the master was painting a Madonna while he was in the service of the Marquis de Vere—this was Adolph of Burgundy—he gave her the features of the prince's spouse and took her child as a model for the infant Jesus.

Like these two compositions, widely scattered in many copies, most of Gossart's Madonna panels belong to his late period. Only the one in the Louvre (4, Plate 11), which forms half of the Carondelet diptych and is dated 1517, is a work of relatively early origin. None of the later ones excel it in purity and accuracy of line. The reflections that light up the shadows are carried through with great consistency—indeed, somewhat at the expense of the illusion of depth. The Virgin herself looks matronly, a bit on the rigid and constrained side. The child, animal-like, with huge, sad eyes and a thin fuzz on his head, instinctively reaches for the comfort of his mother's fingers. Rays of light that are barely visible issue from the Virgin's head. The drapery flows down smoothly, without undue bulking or wrinkling.

The emotional key in which this Madonna is pitched is quite different from all Gossart's other Madonnas known to us. There is a chance that the master may have been passingly influenced by Quentin Massys, who held sway in Antwerp about 1517, but this must have been limited in time and not gone very deep. It might, however, explain certain elements alien to Gossart—the lightly parted lips of the Virgin, the dull and drowsy character of the child. Later Madonnas in half-length, like those in the Prado at Madrid and in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum in Berlin, are set off from the back-ground more vigorously and with deeper shadows, and the Child, grown in body and alert in mind, moves with greater joy and self-awareness.

Gossart varies the simple motive and in so doing ventures a good deal. Unlike some of his contemporaries, he does not take the easy way. He does not exploit a single schema, repeating it with merely minor variations. Al-

4. Van Mander relates, in his biography of Pieter Koeck, that an illegitimate son of Gossart, Pauvel, was particularly good at copying the work of Jan van Mabuse (German edition, vol. 1, p. 157.).

though overall he too offers little variety in the basic emotional mood that motivates the poses, he embarks on a completely new combination each time he paints a Madonna.

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Dating from a comparatively early period, say about 1520, is the panel from the Simon collection (30, Plate 31), now the property of Herr Huck in Berlin. In its silvery brightness and flesh-tint reflections, it harks back to the Carondelet Madonna. The delicate and rather small Madonna from the von Hollitscher collection (29, Plate 31), now on the market in Holland, may indeed go back before 1520.

One of the master's favourite notes is struck here, later to be enhanced and rather vehemently modified, both in one of the engravings and in the lost, oft-copied Madonna 'with the entangled child'. The child is playing with His mother's long kerchief (38a, 38b, Plate 36), hiding beneath it, fending off the cascading cloth, squirming to escape its confinement.

Gossart's ideal of the Virgin is realized with mature skill in the uncommonly well-preserved half-length Madonna in the Prado (35, Plate 33). A masonry niche arches behind the group, enhancing its plastic realism, the mathematically straight lines bringing out the deep moulding of the bodies. One shoulder widely extended, the Virgin turns and bends towards the child, who stands in her lap hugging and kissing her. She is regally arrayed, strands of pearls over her brow, full and vital, with dark eyes, swelling lips, receding chin and richly waved hair with metallic highlights. The perfectly circular outline of her bare breast overlaps the child's body. Within its curving contours, the flesh is modelled with patches of light and sparing reflections. The child, full of gusto, has gained control over his limbs, and his great mop of hair breathes vitality.

In more than one respect, a Madonna in half-length, formerly in private hands in Madrid and now with an art dealer in New York, forms an exception (32, Plate 31). First of all—surprisingly—there is a landscape background in the manner of Patenier, with horizontally arranged hills, rows of trees and fields. The Virgin, with dire forebodings, rests her heavy head on one hand. The child has physically separated himself from his mother and seems to be aware of his mission. The contours of both figures are of unwonted harshness and angularity.

On two occasions, Gossart presented the Virgin in half-length, with the head of Joseph visible close to her own. An instructive example is the *Holy Family*, an extremely crowded composition that has recently reached the market in Holland (43, Plate 38). Child, bust-length mother and father's head have been forced into the small oblong, almost as though by legerdemain. This tight propinquity of the family members, and their physical and spatial seclusion from the outside world, express their relationship to one another with great intensity. The mere overlapping enforced by the tight space creates the illusion of depth. A *Holy Family* of similar composition, which has turned up on the art market in Berlin (42, Plate 38), contains (or contained) the smiling face of an old man in sharp caricature, in the taste of Antwerp Mannerism⁵.

5. Oddly enough, the head has been overpainted.

Only twice, so far as I know, did Gossart paint the Virgin at full length, both times towards the end of his life. One example is seen in a panel in the Pinakothek in Munich (27, Plate 29), signed and dated 1527, although it may be only an ancient copy; and in a replica of equal merit, although without the inscription, which is in the museum in Vienna. The Virgin is seated on a broad throne of stone, its back forming an apse terminating above in an obtuse arch. In the soffit of the richly profiled niche frame appears a motto in Roman letters of metal, pierced and arching outwards, precisely as in the Madonna at Berlin (36, Plate 34). The Virgin holds the child with both arms—he is endeavouring to push away from her lap in an oblique forward direction, his own arms reaching out. Her robe with its deep gatherings of fabric resembles a waterfall.

The second full-length Madonna (28, Plate 30) has lately become known in several repetitions, the best of which is unsigned⁶, while a lesser specimen does bear the master's name and the year 1532 (28b, Plate 30). The Virgin is seated on a throne of corrupt semi-Gothic style, holding the boy, who is awkwardly and naughtily frolicking on one of the armrests. This image of the boisterous child, vexing his mother with the first stirrings of fractiousness, preoccupies the master more and more and is developed in lively variations.

Gossart basked in the sumptuous favour of princely households, and his patrons demanded portraits of him. He was ideally endowed to respond to this challenge to the satisfaction of lordly gentlemen and proud ladies. He was gifted with the objective vision of the portraitist. He had the ability to capture with precision and acumen whatever presented itself to his eyes. He also possessed, in a sense, the mind of a master of ceremonies, lavishing great care upon jewellery, arms and all the panoply of rank and office. But more than that, he added something of his own to his sitters—a certain lofty spirit and imperious dignity. He managed to enhance their personalities, to bring out the very qualities they were keen to see emphasized.

The people who sat for him, who were fond of gazing into the mirror of his limner's art, were members of the dynasty that was about to embark upon world dominion, as well as other scions of the Burgundian blood, men in high secular or clerical office who hid their illegitimate origins beneath a proud and splendid bearing.

The world was opening and expanding in those days. Bold schemes to gain power and prestige were planned in the tight little country. The personages Gossart depicted were predominantly those that stood out by virtue of birth or achievement—or at least men and women he was able to invest with a semblance of unshakable position. There is among them none who could not cut a fine figure at court. All have themselves well in hand, assert themselves, never let themselves go, betray no sign of weakness, are well aware that they are in the limelight, put themselves forward in clear-cut, settled individuality. Contemplative or arrogant, relaxed or temperamental, they exhibit their public personality, they look exactly as they wished to appear to contemporaries and posterity. Secret sorrow, private grief and reverie are carefully hidden away. They may on occasion be shown in an attitude of pray-

6. The signature may have been removed, when the spurious Dürer monogram was added.

er, but deep down they are thoroughly secular and anything but devout, and they feel no great need for any power that might rule over their destinies from above. Gossart's portraits are more or less well suited to perpetuate the memory of his sitters as if in commemorative medals or monuments.

From no later than 1514 onwards, Jean Carondelet was among Gossart's patrons. Born in 1469, he rose to high clerical honours and was well-versed in worldly affairs as well, boasting indeed the title of Chancellor of Flanders. He had his portrait painted on numerous occasions, at least three times by Gossart, but also by van Orley (Pinakothek, Munich) and Vermeyen (2)⁷. The earliest portrait by Gossart's hand, probably painted in 1514, is preserved in the Hirsch collection, London (51, Plate 45). The year 1517 saw the creation of the diptych, now in the Louvre (4, Plates 10-11), on one half of which this prince of the church is represented as the donor (4, Plate 10); and only a little later came another diptych (5, Plates 12-13), the portrait panel of which is in the collection of R. von Gutmann in Vienna (5, Plate 13), while the other side, a *St. Donatian*, is in the museum in Tournai (5, Plate 12).

7. This picture went to the Metropolitan Museum in New York with the Havemeyer collection.

There is no lack of other supporting evidence for dating his portraits. One document tells us that in 1516 Gossart painted two portraits from life of Eleanor of Austria, sister to Charles V. One of these may have come down to us in the portrait of a youthful princess, now in the collection of A. Berg at Portland, Oregon (74, Plate 61).

The three children of King Christian II of Denmark were painted about 1525 (79, Plate 62). Gossart almost certainly painted portraits of the king himself and of his queen, Isabella. An engraving of the king's likeness, catalogued under the name of Binck and dated 1523, evidently goes back to a drawing or painting by Gossart. No painted portraits have come down to us of either Philip or Adolph, the illegitimate sons of Philip the Good, but in the Arras Codex we find drawings with the names of these princes, which are in all likelihood after lost paintings by Gossart.

The stage of development Gossart's portrait art had reached in 1517 is represented by the masterpiece in the Louvre—the portrait of Carondelet (4, Plate 10). A silvery light seems to impinge on it from all sides, lending the massive head of the praying sitter an air of relaxed serenity, barely touched with dulness. About this time the observation of form and of the play of light seems to have preoccupied the master deeply. The acutely pursued reflections in this face would almost dissolve its modelling but for the sinuous contours, drawn with consummate mastery, which authoritatively contain the whole design.

The *Portrait of a Benedictine Monk* in the Louvre is dated 1526 by inscription (72, Plate 58). With its diffuse light and chilly mood, it provides a welcome landmark for apportioning several undated portraits, like the *Portrait of a Little Girl*, supposedly Jacqueline of Burgundy, in the National Gallery at London (75, Plate 59), and that of the wife of Adolph of Burgundy, of which two versions of almost equal merit have come down to us. The drawing in the Arras Codex (Plate 60), representing this lady according to a plausible note, goes back to the painting in the Gardner collection at Boston

(76a, Plate 60), or to the one now in the Lehman collection, New York (76, Plate 60), which coincides with it exactly. Gossart's approach is versatile. His solution does not in each case flow solely from his observation of the personality in point. Rather does he strive zealously for variety in gesture and attitude. He is fond of dark, neutral grounds, of tight framing and of fixing his subjects by architectural lines. This close and austere containment gives all the greater animation to the deeply modelled curves of his faces, the chance play of drapery. Gossart avoids deep vistas, faraway landscapes. Everything is within easy reach, in the immediate foreground.

The hand, organ of the will, must not be invisible—it claws or is contracted into a gripping tool, more disposed to take than to give.

In his later period, the master favoured lighting the face from both sides, concentrating the deepest shadows in the middle, in the hollows of the eyes, beneath the nose, by the lips, the countenance as a whole standing out light against the dark ground.

His skill in draughtsmanship and with the means of light and shade enabled Gossart to project the rounded shape of the head in the most striking verisimilitude of depth, thus severing personality from environment, enhancing his sitters' essential self-assurance. Floating free from the picture surface, the individual casts off all dependence, puts distance between himself and society. He stands alone in his pride or wistfulness, hurling his will at us.

On a single occasion, Gossart successfully met the rare challenge of the double portrait, of man and wife side by side (80, Plate 63). This painting does not receive its due in the National Gallery in London, indeed, a question mark has been added after the name of the painter (15). I can attribute these reservations only to the unusual technique—the painting is on paper or vellum. It seems to me that this work is not only by Gossart, but that it is in many respects his masterpiece. Here are an old man and an old woman, in simple physical juxtaposition, against a neutral dark ground, joined in mind by the authoritarian instincts they share. They are suited to each other, have even come to look alike in what has presumably been a long marriage. He clasps his staff, unwilling to relinquish it while he is yet alive, and gazes from the picture with imperious finality. A burning and powerful will animates his sunken features. She poses by his side, her lips tightly compressed, with an expression that has grown hard and mean. If anywhere, Gossart has succeeded in portraying character in this autocratic couple.

The best specimen of the portrait of the three children of the Danish king is preserved in Hampton Court (79, Plate 62). Here Gossart successfully strives to create a meaningful group, rich in interrelationships. The crown prince is in the middle, a younger child on either side. The children are sumptuously attired in funereal black, aloof and lonely, as befits the uprooted scions of an expelled king and queen. Yet a certain playfulness is in evidence, mingled with defiant arrogance, before a smooth and chilly marble wall they sit and fidget and reach for the fruit placed on the table.

Gossart's Drawings

40 Our store of drawings by Netherlandish masters from the time around 1520 is curiously meagre and unevenly distributed among the better-known painters. Some of the major figures, like Quentin Massys and Joos van Cleve, are represented by not even a single sheet. Most of those that have come down to us are designs for tapestries or stained glass, with portraits and sketches from nature almost totally wanting. Whether this is because the Netherlanders made fewer drawings than the artists of South Germany, or perhaps had a lower regard for their paper heritage and took worse care of it, the fact is that drawings are of far smaller interest and assistance to the art historian in the study of Netherlandish art than for Dürer or Holbein, for example.

As for Gossart, we did indeed gain insight into his beginnings through drawings, and what designs and visualizations from his mature period we can find not only confirm but supplement the picture his paintings have already given us. Beholden to Netherlandish tradition, he painted slowly and painstakingly, and this drudgery exerted something of a paralyzing and ossifying effect on his work. By comparison, his drawings look animated and temperamental. They are different, one from another, not only because they come from different periods of his life, but because his creative intent turned now in this direction, now in that. Purpose and use determined the tempo of the shading, the degree of detail. We can distinguish a number of types—sedulous on-the-spot copies, like the drawing of an ancient statue, preserved in Venice (Plate 69); utterly objective visualizations, like the tomb for Isabella of Denmark (Plate 69); wash drawings, or drawings heightened with chalk, intended as designs for stained glass; studies that are centred in the main on the human body in motion. There are sketchlike designs for panel paintings, and also cleanly and evenly drawn 'presentation cartoons', calculated to give the patrons an idea of the kind of altarpiece they were ordering.

Gossart was a master who planned and built ahead. His knowledge of form could have been the result only of profound study. In all likelihood he drew a great deal, and liked to draw, because he was able to express what mattered to him in black-and-white. What has come down to us may be but a small remnant of what was once in existence—nor is it very long ago that the attention of connoisseurs first began to be drawn to his drawings. The attempt at compilation that follows is probably full of lacunae.

1. (Plate 64) *Adam and Eve*—Duke of Devonshire, Chatsworth. Pen-and-ink drawing on green ground, heightened in white. Reproduced in *Chatsworth Drawings*, Pl. 54, attributed to 'Baldung'. • Now in the Devonshire Collection, The Trustees of the Chatsworth Settlement, Chatsworth, Inv. No. 935; 348 × 239 mm.

2. (Plate 64) *Adam and Eve*—Staedelsches Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt. Pen-and-ink drawing. Reproduced in Weiss, Pl. 18. • Inv. No. 1789; 270 × 381 mm. Watermark: related to Briquet No. 11426 [16].

3. (Plate 64) *Adam and Eve*—Albertina, Vienna. Pen-and-ink drawing. Reproduced in Schönbrunner-Meder, No. 1189; see Benesch, *Die Zeichnungen der Niederländischen Schulen*, Vienna, 1928, No. 36. • 257 × 210 mm. Inscriptions: MB (Malbodius?): Get(ekend) 6./1525 [17].

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4. (Plate 64) *Adam and Eve*—O. Bondy, Vienna. Pen-and-ink drawing with wash. A large, carefully executed cartoon. • Now in the Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design, Providence, Rhode Island, Acc. No. 48425; 621 × 468 mm [18].

5. (Plate 65) *The Nativity*—Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin. Pen-and-ink drawing, design for stained glass. Reproduced in the catalogue of Netherlands drawings, Pl. 47, No. 13583. • Now in the Kupferstichkabinett der Staatlichen Museen, Berlin-Dahlem; 110 × 82 mm.

6. (Plate 65) *The Adoration of the Magi*—Louvre, Paris. Pen-and-ink drawing, reproduced in *Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, Vol. 36, p. 224. • 270 × 193 mm.

7. (Plate 65) *The Presentation in the Temple*—Kunsthalle, Hamburg. Pen-and-ink drawing, design for an altar shutter, reproduced in *Publikation der Hamburger Zeichnungen*, Prestel, New Series, Pl. 5. • 399 × 167 mm.

8. (Plate 65) *The Circumcision*—Ch. Loeser, Florence. Pen-and-ink drawing from a fairly early period. • Present location unknown.

9. (Plate 65) *Christ Crowned with Thorns*—Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin. Pen-and-ink drawing, reproduced in the catalogue of Netherlands drawings, Pl. 26, No. 12317. • Now in the Kupferstichkabinett der Staatlichen Museen, Berlin-Dahlem; 273 × 251 mm. Watermark: Briquet 1, No. 1848.

10. (Plate 66) *The Betrothal of St. Catherine*—Print Room, Copenhagen. Pen-and-ink drawing, signed, about 1504, see pp. 19f., above. Reproduced in *Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, Vol. 42, 1921, p. 5. • 227 × 172 mm.

11. (Plate 66) *The Mocking of Christ*—Henry Oppenheimer, London. Pen-and-ink drawing, executed with great care and corresponding (without inversion) with an engraving rightly accounted an original by Gossart. • Sold at Christie's, London, on 10th-14th July 1936, No. 226. Present location unknown.

12. (Plate 66) *The Lamentation*—Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin. Pen-and-ink drawing with wash, reproduced in *Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, Vol. 36, p. 229; see catalogue of Netherlandish drawings, No. 4457. • Now in the Kupferstichkabinett der Staatlichen Museen, Berlin-Dahlem; 276 × 305 mm.

13. (Plate 66) *Virgin and Child with the Boy St. John*—British Museum, London. Pen-and-ink drawing. • 135 × 152 mm.

14. (Plate 66) *The Holy Family*—L. Blumenreich, Berlin. Pen-and-ink drawing. From the Rodrigues collection, auctioned in Amsterdam, reproduced in the auction catalogue. • Present location unknown.

15. (Plate 66) *The Holy Family with Two Female Saints*—Albertina, Vienna. Pen-and-ink drawing heightened in white, reproduced in Schönbrunner-Meder, No. 635; see Benesch, No. 35. Designated: *Nicasius Gossart de Mabuse*, see pp. 20 f., above. • Inv. No. 7834; 318 × 267 mm.

16. (Plate 67) *The Beheading of St. John the Baptist*—Art academy, Paris (Masson collection). Pen-and-ink drawing with wash, heightened in white, a design for stained glass. Signed: *Gemin · Gossart, De—*. Reproduced in Popham, *Drawings of the Early Flemish School*, No. 62. • Roundel, diameter: 245 mm.

17. *St. John on the Island of Patmos*—A. Strölin, Lausanne. Pen-and-ink drawing, a design for stained glass. • Present location unknown.

18. (Plate 67) Design for a multiple stained-glass window: *St. John on the Island of Patmos; The Martyrdom of St. John; a donor*—[19]. Uffizi, Florence. Pen-and-ink drawing with wash. Late inscription: *Jehannin Nebuze*.

19. (Plate 67) *The Legend of St. Leonard*—Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin. Pen-and-ink drawing with wash, design for an altarpiece with shutters, reproduced in *Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, Vol. 36, p. 230; catalogue of Netherlandish drawings, No. 4647. • Now in the Kupferstichkabinett der Staatlichen Museen, Berlin-Dahlem; 317 × 257—125 mm.

20. (Plate 68) *The Conversion of St. Paul*—Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin. Pen-and-ink drawing, reproduced in the catalogue of Netherlandish drawings, No. 8484. • Now in the Kupferstichkabinett der Staatlichen Museen, Berlin-Dahlem; 303 × 430 mm.

21. (Plate 68) *The Legend of St. Giles*—Print Room, Copenhagen. Pen-and-ink drawing. • 294 × 419 mm.

22. (Plate 68) *A Nobleman with His Party at Table* (theme obscure)—F. Koenigs, Haarlem. Pen-and-ink drawing on grey ground, heightened in

white, a design for stained glass, reproduced in 1928 publication of the Vasari Society, Series 2, Pl. 9, attributed to van Orley. • Now in the Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, Rotterdam; roundel, diameter: 270 mm [20].

23. (Plate 69) *A Striding Warrior*—Staedelsches Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt. Pen-and-ink drawing, about 1506, see p. 21, above, reproduced in the publication of Frankfurt drawings, xv, 8. • Inv. No. 724; 198 × 120 mm. Inscribed: *gō sã*. (signature?).

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24. (Plate 69) *Design for a Tomb*, probably for Isabella of Denmark—Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin, Pen-and-ink drawing with wash, catalogue of Netherlandish drawings, No. 4646, reproduced in *Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, Vol. 36, p. 228. About 1527, see p. 40, above. • Now in the Kupferstichkabinett der Staatlichen Museen, Berlin-Dahlem; 271 × 164 mm.

25. (Plate 68) *The Women's Bath*—British Museum, London, Pen-and-ink drawing. • Inv. No. 1924-5.12.1; 379 × 502 mm. Watermark: related to Briquet Nos. 12463 & 12866.

26. (Plate 69) *The Colosseum at Rome*—Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin. Pen-and-ink drawing, withhold signature, not by Gossart; reproduced in the catalogue of Netherlandish drawings, Pl. 28, No. 12918. • Now in the Kupferstichkabinett der Staatlichen Museen, Berlin-Dahlem; 201 × 269 mm.

27. (Plate 69) *The So-Called Hermaphroditus*—Academy, Venice. Drawn in Rome in 1508. See pp. 23 f. and 40, above. Reproduced in my book, *Von Eyck bis Bruegel*, Pl. 22. • 305 × 178 mm [21].

The Character of Jan Gossart

Gossart was in Rome, as we have seen—in 1508, when he was about 30 years old. Biographers and chroniclers have pointed to this sojourn as the explanation for a change in his style, not altogether without reason. While in Rome, Gossart made drawings of ancient statues for his lord and master. Home again later on, when he was welcomed as a harbinger and propagandist of the Grand Manner, he boasted of what he had seen and deliberately set out to impart pagan content and classical form to his works.

The primary and immediate effect of the journey emerges in his formal idiom rather than in his themes. In keeping with his Flemish training, Gossart was essentially a Mannerist painter in the miniature tradition. His appetite for the monumental was whetted only in the South. The lesson he learned from statuary was how people actually stand and sit; but as the scale of his knowledge of form waxed, the scale of his imagination waned. He was self-sufficient as a painter, but when it came to composition he needed models to lean on. He copied from Jan van Eyck and Dürer, and his attitude towards his subjects, even when they were taken from nature, was essentially that of a copyist—he was always at the mercy of his model. Faced with the fixed individual challenge, i.e. a portrait, he displayed far greater assurance than in sheer invention; and not until several years after the Italian journey did he venture into compositions from mythology on his own.

His stay in Italy had been brief, and he had not seen very much there. If he learned anything from Italian painters, it may have been the Milanese disciples of Leonardo who influenced him. The lighting and modelling, the expansive form, the *chiascuro* and choice of colour in the London *Adoration* are reminiscent of Ambrogio de Predis. Italy as a country he failed altogether to perceive, as he missed the interrelation between art and nature. He simply did not see the 'picturesque' disorder, nor the lofty and at once wistful mood that stemmed from the decay caused by the steady tooth of time. With the form-giving rationality that stirs so powerfully in artists wanting in imagination, he restored, eked out and rounded off—but he did so from joy in evocation, pleasure in discovery, rather than from any romantic yearning or reverence for the ruins and remnants of a proud past.

He felt himself an architect and reared up structures in his paintings, wherever the chance and whenever the occasion. Edifices, the work of man that can be envisaged as constructions he himself devised and therefore knew, were more acceptable and comprehensible to Gossart than the vastnesses created by God, than organic life with its vagaries.

He built in the Gothic style as well as in the style of antiquity, nor did he at all cease to build in the Gothic style, simply because he had beheld the columns of Rome. In his creative output, governed by knowledge and ambition rather than inward necessity, the style that was his heritage got on

well with what he had acquired. His interiors are classical, more or less, while his buildings far afield and seen from without pierce the sky in the Gothic manner, even in his late paintings.

The kind of loose and open Gothic style Gossart playfully allows to glitter from his *Malvagna* triptych, for example, was still the customary, if not the mandatory manner in the Netherlands around the year 1520. The regent Margaret had her sepulchral church at Bourg-en-Bresse done in this style, a sign that Neo-Classicism, beloved of Philip of Burgundy, had by no means swept the Northern courts. Gossart had to go by whatever preference was shown.

Painted architecture meant much to him, as an organizing element and, built up in perspective, as a means to create the illusion of depth. In Rome, Gossart had come to know the ideal human body in statuary, accepting something of the sculptor's approach; and he now proceeded with the stylistic instinct of the sculptor, loath to expose his creatures to raw space, intent upon seeing to it that they were framed and backed and roofed. He felt the need for depth and space as niches and apses for tangible bodies; but it had to be measured depth, encompassing space, against which the human figure would loom with elemental sturdiness, invested with grandeur.

Gossart's structures, always—whether Gothic or classical—spanking new, as though only just finished, gratified their creator's pride. Compared to the figures caught up in them, they are cells, against whose walls and grillework and serried colonnades the rounded bodies crowd and wash like waves upon the shore.

The interiors, barren of Northern warmth and comfort, flinty and metallic in aspect, lacking furniture, without any trace of being lived in, are housings for sculptures rather than homes for people, and they well suit their tenants, whose haughty demeanour lifts them above the homely compass of genre.

Studying ancient statues in Rome, Gossart had learned of a new kind of beauty—the beauty of the nude, healthy, athletic body; and now, flaunting this ideal of proud flesh in the North with missionary zeal, he magnified its scale, deepened the illusion of three-dimensionality, enhanced the movement of limbs. The image of the hero, feet firmly planted on the ground, proudly and freely asserting himself in space, had permeated his vision.

In his travels, in the South, meeting great lords and men of enlightened humanism, he had cast off many of the fears and shackles that marked creative form and content within cramped Northern city walls and burgher societies. In loud and brazen protest against Gothic asceticism, he now set about shaping well-fleshed and muscular bodies. An obtrusive sense of physical well-being pervades his strapping and powerful creatures, often investing their demeanour with an air of athletic prowess. Their hands, seldom idle, seem nearly always ready to grasp and clasp. Gossart plainly regarded the body as an organism capable of standing firm, by virtue of its skeleton, and at once capable of an infinite range of movement, by virtue of its muscles and sinews.

Gossart's orderly constructive mind did not follow the semblance of

things blindly, but only to the degree that semblance reflects and projects essence.

Plodding steadfastly towards his goal, he resisted the temptation to get lost in byways. His tree trunks are denuded of branches and foliage. His horizon is limited. He chooses simple motives, only to paint them with great complexity. His great achievement, projecting the illusion of chock-full three-dimensionality, exacts its price. 'Picturesqueness' dwindles, vegetation withers, ornamentation is stunted.

His draughtsmanship is locked in constant, stubborn battle with the picture surface. His lines dart in and pop out again, always hinting of an invisible back surface. They flare away as curves, and his bodies, in foreshortened, contorted and overlapping observation, become stocky and compact. His penchant for closed curves, rounded into their beginnings, prevails down to the floorplans of buildings, the curling of hair, clawing fingers. Joined to this roundness is expansive breadth and fulness—but not softness. Contours remain pure and precise. Sliding and rolling into depth, spherical or cylindrical limbs seem to have grown smooth and shiny, like pebbles in the surf. Gossart loved the curve—the curve for and by itself—with a secret passion for mathematical totality. He loved the circle, the wheel, the focal structure. Gossart craved movement as the mark of aliveness, yet his vision was such that he needed static models. He was less concerned with the sources of action than with its consequences. His figures are seen in certain attitudes, not because they were constrained to move this way from inner necessity, but because they moved for the sole purpose of displaying this particular constellation of the limbs. Gossart can scarcely be described as an overwhelming storyteller, yet such is his fascination with sensationally intricate form that the space in his paintings churns with continuous movement that sometimes almost leaps out of the picture. At times this sense of motion seems occasioned by nothing more than the necessity to squeeze bodies or heads inside the narrow box of the frame. His people often seem to move only for the sake of moving, and almost everywhere the execution of his themes is better than their emotional motivation. His nudes, particularly, skip and dance in a *contrapposto* of limbs.

Hand in hand with the illusion of space and depth, the significance of the frame became enhanced. Surface-occupying decoration as such really required no special mounting, but Gossart was vain, and intent upon isolating his creatures in every possible way. He often put a frame of painted architecture within the frame proper. He had a curious way of turning the background into a masonry wall with a projecting marginal moulding, a kind of second wall, reinforcing the sense of surrounding enclosure.

In stereoscopic vision, objects are gripped by the two eyes as in a vice. Of course Gossart could not project this kind of vision, yet unwittingly this is precisely what he seems to have tried to do. He steps up close to the object, and the closer we stand to an object, the greater the difference between binocular and monocular aspect. Gossart reports what the right eye has seen and the left. His systematically developed method for showing as much as

possible of cheeks and flanks arching away in depth consists in reflected lighting. The vice in which he grips three-dimensional objects is one of light rather than vision. His method for enhancing the illusion of depth is to illuminate them from both sides.

He watches the incidence of light like a hawk, and the contest and interplay between shadow and reflection; and all this keen observation serves only to give form to objects. Gossart's *chiaoscuro* obscures nothing and binds nothing.

His colours are not primary in effect, not qualities inherent in the picture surface, not elements contributing to the overall mood. Rather are they secondary, qualities peculiar to the substances represented. Van Mander tells of paintings the master did in *grisaille*, and we can well believe that Gossart could capture all that mattered to him by gradations of tone alone.

He inclines towards a cold palette, preferring blues and greys. He gives a bluish tinge to the whites of the eyes. His red is for the most part a dark madder-lake. The pigments are finely ground, applied to form a surface polished to the smoothness of glazed pottery. The jewel-like shine and hardness, purity and solidity of this technique suited his princely patrons. In his careful and painstaking brush-work, enamelled and many-layered, Gossart was completely in the Netherlandish tradition, even though this slow tempo in the execution was in conflict with his quest for large form and vehement motion, making his painted forms seem congealed and frost-bitten.

Man and woman had appeared to him in the nude as though hewn from stone. The upholstered skeletons of his own unclothed creatures are not precisely marmoreal in effect, nor really fleshlike, but rather vitreously smooth and hard. He distinguishes the sexes sharply, emphasizing their physical characteristics, the musculature of the man, the soft and gentle roundness of the female body, the hair patterns.

Whether Virgin, Eve, Danae or Magdalene, she is always the same woman, the same beauty, the same ideal, sumptuous in shape, with dark eyes, highly curved lips, well-shaped though slightly receding chin, broad cheekbones, short nose and wavy hair, a lock of which nearly always dangles in front of the ear.

Gossart's crude Flemish sensuality and animal spirits are softened by his cold academic approach. When he does no more than observe nature, he stands in danger of vulgarity. The big toes of his plump feet bend upwards in tumescence.

He wore a beard himself, and his hair was curly. He sensed the leonine strength of Samson in a heavy head of hair. By emphasizing a part of the body that partakes least of the spirit, he enhanced the sense of earthy vitality that marks his figures. Their hair does not droop or cling, but ripples defiantly. It forms no shaggy mop but rises into splendid crowns or braids. In decorous array, the curls rear and sparkle in highlighted rows.

In the North, nudity was fraught with guilt from olden days. Gossart felt like a bold innovator, when he bared bodies, revealed the duality of sex. There is a remnant of bad conscience in his noisy and obtrusive eroticism. He

viewed paganism as dominated by Eros and proclaimed the emancipation of natural instincts by invoking the rehabilitated gods and heroes of antiquity. He peered at nudity with cold and pedantic curiosity, and his exposure borders on the ludicrous. Undressed people are exhibited, like freaks at a sideshow. There is nothing innocent, elemental or natural about their nudity. No, it is contrived, daring, a forbidden sensation, to be enjoyed with a shudder of delight.

Gossart painted Venus, and pagan lovers, and he was particularly fond of using the Biblical theme of Original Sin as a pretext for painting nudes, ostensibly in a spirit of Southern innocence. Yet he was anything but innocent—quite the contrary, he was crafty and calculating. There is neither tenderness nor passion, only a kind of acrobatic legerdemain, in the way his intricately entangled and sinuously interlocking bodies join.

Gossart's manner is bumptious and arrogant. He was a thoroughly complacent man, and the reasons for his self-confidence are not hard to find. He had the knack of achieving whatever he set out to do, and he had not the slightest inkling of things that were beyond his ken. He always set his sights for targets that were within his range, creating works that drew the unrestrained admiration of his contemporaries. Today, to be sure, we are less happy with them than we are with works by some of his fellows who lagged behind him in skill and technique, to say nothing of ambition. The most impressive thing about Gossart's pictures is that they seem like elegant solutions to difficult tasks. They are provocative precisely because of their calculated arrogance.

To Gossart's generation fell the task of blending heterogeneous stylistic elements. This needed creative fervour and emotional depth—or at the very least a sure instinct for good taste. These, as it happened, were precisely the gifts and powers Gossart lacked. Tact is another word for good taste in social and ethical matters. Van Mander makes much of Gossart's intemperate and dissipated way of life. Whether or not this is indeed true, it does seem to round out the picture of Gossart's character we read from his work. Van Mander gives one anecdote that is, in a sense, symbolic. During a courtly procession held while the emperor was visiting Gossart's patron, the painter drew notice, because he appeared in a suit tailored from a particularly rich grade of damask. The emperor summoned him to look at the splendid fabric at close hand, only to learn that it was in fact paper, dressed up with paint and brush to simulate cloth in pattern and magnificence, a trick that vastly entertained the assembled celebrities. Vanity and ostentation, a clever hand at pretence, the impudence of a court jester—these are certainly character traits hinted at in Gossart.

Put in historical context, Gossart's main achievement is to have raised the standards of accuracy, precision and careful workmanship. He could paint only what he knew through and through, with sovereign mastery. His full-blooded virility challenged the rampant sentimentality that emanated from Massys, the saccharine quality that brought Joos van Cleve such success, and he put the slapdash whimsy of the Mannerists behind him. And since he

went about a good deal in the Netherlands, his influence was felt in more than one art centre. He stimulated a number of masters—Bernart van Orley, Lucas van Leyden, Jan van Scorel.

If Massys was the 'sentimental virtuoso', as I have described him, Gossart was the 'calculating virtuoso'. He shows the marks of the virtuoso, the incessant pursuit of new challenges—intricate postures, bodies seen beneath transparent veils, elusive highlights, the cat-and-mouse game of shadow and reflection. To be an artist meant to him to paint things no one else was capable of painting, especially the complete illusion of three-dimensional reality.

Dürer met many painters in the Netherlands, but not the master from Maubeuge. Yet of all the painters, Gossart—at least upon casual acquaintance—would have been bound to seem a kindred spirit at the level of vigilant interest in things. At a deeper level, the gulf between them was unbridgeable, and enduring communion would have been scarcely possible.

Supplement to Jan Gossart

50 Drawings have contributed to our knowledge of Jan Gossart in a degree unequalled by any other Netherlandish artist. I originally put together a relatively long list of sheets, belonging to all the phases of his development. Here are some supplementary notes:

A few years ago, the Berlin Kupferstichkabinett acquired a very carefully worked drawing, with a great abundance of figures—a sibyl, telling a Roman emperor of the appearance of the Virgin (Plate 70) [22]. In its close hatching and rather nervous and agitated approach, this drawing agrees with the signed drawing in Copenhagen (No. 10 in my list, Plate 66), and it too is signed, although indistinctly, JENNI. The proportions of the figures are conspicuously short, in contrast to other works of Gossart done about the same time, about 1505.

I think I can demonstrate still earlier drawings by this master, in the form of two designs or sketches, of a craftsmanlike nature, which are preserved in the Albertina (Nos. 48 and 49 in the catalogue of this collection, attributed to Blondeel, Plate 70) [23]. They are done with rather painful effort on a light blue ground with white accents; they show a mirror and a bag (?); and they are unwieldy and lean in form, with curiously wavy ornamental scrollwork in the framing. Both sheets are signed *Jennin Mabuse*; and even though these signatures can scarcely be attributed to the artist himself, they are nevertheless plausible; for these drawings are certainly not in the known style of Gossart and not likely to have tempted anyone to add the name falsely.

More and more substance has been added to the notion that Gossart may have begun as something like a late Gothic goldsmith [24], to become the leading painter of the Netherlands, first as a playful Mannerist, and later as a Rationalist and Classicist. This should serve as a warning to those critics who believe they can come to know a master from only a few of his works, rejecting others that do not live up to their ideas. Gossart took over scarcely a single characteristic of his youth into his mature work.

(From Volume XIV)

Bernart van Orley and His Beginnings

51

By placing Bernart van Orley of Brussels immediately beside the painter from Maubeuge, I make comparison easier—with the result, I hope, that the two masters are to be sharply distinguished, one from the other. This is all the more devoutly to be wished since they often have been and still are confused with each other. Even van Mander erroneously enumerated among van Orley's works the so-called *Prague Cathedral Picture* (24, Plate 28), which is signed with Gossart's name¹. Yet the two masters are quite different in origin and training and, consequently, in their beginnings. Van Orley sprang from a family of Brussels painters and retained the closest ties with his home town all his life. He was born some 12 years after Gossart. Some biographical data emerge from a document. A. Pinchart discovered in the royal archives² the transcript of an investigation of Bernart van Orley, his family and his friends in 1527, which makes useful references to their ages. According to the charges, a number of Brussels painters and tapestry weavers stood in the odour of heresy, because they had attended the clandestine sermons of the reformer, Jacob van der Elst. Mentioned as suspect were Valentin van Orley, Bernart's father, Valentin's wife, Bernart himself and his wife Agnes Seghers, Jan van Coninxloo, a painter who was related to the van Orley family, the painters Jan Tons and Jacob Tseraerts, and finally the well-known Pieter de Pannemaker and several other tapestry weavers. The record says that Bernart's father, Valentin was 61 years old at the time, Bernart's wife 34 or 35. The age of one of Bernart's brothers, Everard, is given as 36 or 37. The age of another brother, Gomar, is not given, and neither is Bernart's own.

Valentine van Orley, born in 1466, married Margarete van Pynbroeck on 13th May 1490. She died in 1501. Her first child can scarcely have been born before 1491, nor her second much before the end of that year. Everard, 36 or 37 years old in 1527, was born in 1491. Bernart may possibly have been born in that same year. We have good reason for putting his birth as early as possible, for he was at work for the regent Margaret as early as 1515.

At the time his son embarked upon his successful career in Brussels, Valentin seems to have moved to Antwerp. A *Valentyn van Bruesele* is registered as a master with the Antwerp guild in 1512, and he is presumably identical with the *Valentyn van Orbey* (sic) *schilder* who registered apprentices in Antwerp in 1516 and 1517. His eldest son Everard is registered as a full-fledged master in 1517 under the name of *Everaert van Orbey scildere*, hence had evidently followed his father to Antwerp. Neither father nor son registered any apprentices after 1517. Their sojourn in the Schelde port was only an episode, and by 1527, as we have seen, the whole family was reunited in Brussels.

The likelihood is great that Bernart, born about 1442, completed his apprenticeship in his father's workshop in Brussels before 1512.

1. See p. 30, above.

2. Crowe and Cavalcaselle, *Les Anciens Peintres Flamands*, vol. 2, p. CCLXXXVIII; A. Wauters, *Bernart van Orley*, p. 18. After Pinchart's death, the document could not be found.

We possess documentation from the year 1515 that Bernart painted portraits of the six children of Philip the Fair, who were being educated under the care of the regent Margaret, and that the portraits were presented to King Christian II of Denmark, who married Isabella then. The next year he painted another portrait of Charles, subsequently to become emperor, as well as of Eleanor, eldest of the princesses, and of the Danish royal couple. He did these likenesses in competition with Jan Gossart³, and they must have won him the favour of the court, for on 23rd May 1518 he was appointed painter in ordinary to the regent. He enjoyed high repute as a painter of altarpieces too, when he was still quite young. When the confraternity of the Holy Cross in Furnes, Flanders, planned a large triptych for the church of St. Walpurgis in 1515, it turned to the Brussels master⁴. It would seem that the work on this altarpiece dragged on until 1520, because the painter was preoccupied by commissions from the court that had priority. After the death of the regent Margaret in 1530, the regency passed to Mary of Hungary, who seems to have continued her aunt's patronage, for Bernart did a long series of portraits of royal personages for this sister of Charles V. The demands of the court influenced his output more and more, with the result that he neglected the execution of panel paintings, limiting himself primarily to designs, especially cartoons for monumental tapestries and stained glass. He died in Brussels on 6th January 1542. His tomb stands in the church of St. Géry.

There is no dearth of works by Bernart van Orley that are signed and thoroughly documented. They vary greatly in style—far more so, indeed, than we would expect in advance even from a Netherlander of this period. The œuvre I compiled in 1908⁵ falls into a number of parts, and it is not altogether easy to join them up.

Starting-points are the altarpiece of the Apostles in Vienna (82, Plates 71-73) and the Job altarpiece in Brussels (85, Plates 78-81). Both works are signed by inscription, but only the Job altarpiece is dated—1521. By stylistic criteria, the altarpiece of the Apostles is the earlier—indeed, there is quite a gulf between the two works. We incline to a generous estimate of the time that separates them, i.e. to date the altarpiece of the Apostles as early as possible.

The wide middle section of the altarpiece of the Apostles hangs in the museum at Vienna (82, Plate 72), while the shutters, painted front and back, are in the Brussels museum (82, Plate 73). The ornamentation of the pillar that divides the centrepiece in two carries an indistinct monogram (O, V 121 and B), the circular inscription BERNART VAN ORLEI, a coat of arms vertically divided into three parts⁶, and lastly the well-known painters' armorial bearings with the three shields.

Represented are the legends of the Apostles Thomas and Matthias, who are also shown in grisaille on the outsides of the Brussels shutters, where the execution is somewhat crude, evidently showing the marks of assistance by apprentices (82, Plate 71). St. Thomas is there shown on the left, with his lance and with three kneeling donors; St. Matthias on the right, with his axe and with four kneeling donors. The donors apparently represent the guild

3. See p. 14, above.

4. Part of this altarpiece has been preserved—see p. 57, below.

5. *Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, vol. 29, 1908, pp. 225 ff.; vol. 30, pp. 9 ff., 89 ff., 155 ff.

6. An insigne of similar shape, two upright brownish stripes on a light ground, is seen in the Job altarpiece and also in two other paintings by van Orley.

of masons and joiners, as indicated by the tools lined up along the bottom. Inside the left shutter, the Doubting Thomas touches the wound in the Saviour's side, while the beheading of St. Matthias is shown on the right. The left side of the centrepiece shows St. Thomas being threatened by King Gondophares of India, the right side the Feast of Pentecost, or rather the calling of St. Matthias. In the background, subsidiary episodes from the story of the two Apostles are depicted.

A commission, then, from the masons and joiners, in the execution of which the painter exercised his architectural imagination—he was in fact proud of this talent. St. Thomas, remote in time and place, was himself an architect. To understand those fantastic loggias with which van Orley organized the area of his centre panel (82, Plate 72), we must bear in mind not only the date at which it was painted, about 1512, but also the painter's own predisposition. The local dominance of Gothic architecture had been shaken. Painters had begun to have an inkling and even actual reports of the Renaissance flowering in the South, and the news had a liberating effect upon their volatile imagination. Unexampled opportunities seemed to beckon. Van Orley's actual knowledge was slight, but he was goaded by ambition to parade novelty before the architects of Brussels. The most assuredly that he did not envisage his task as one of depicting buildings he had actually seen but rather of inventing the kinds of buildings that might have stood in faraway lands at the dawn of history—and of these he knew but one thing: they must have been altogether different from all the architecture that was anywhere in sight. He assumed the mantle of the historian-painter. This may seem quite implausible to us, because this 16th century painter does so little justice to our more abundant and better informed notions of historical accuracy. We are likely to forget he had no other purpose than to satisfy the more modest demands of his contemporaries. The gaps in his knowledge he filled up with sheer invention; and in respect of architectural form and ornamentation this could scarcely be anything else but a *mixtum compositum* of heterogeneous elements—Romanesque, Gothic, Renaissance, all stirred together without much rhyme or reason. The Romanesque was the North's autochthonous discovery of antiquity, not quite unlike to the rediscovery of ancient Rome in the South. The Gothic strain ran in the blood, almost instinctive. And as for the Renaissance, bits and pieces had drifted northwards, although there was no coherent idea of its organic context.

The structures before us, conceived and realized by these means, make a fabulous impression with their colourful confusion. We behold Romanesque portals with zigzag motives, plantlike scrollwork in the Gothic style, wide Renaissance architraves, knobs and curlicues, offshoots in the form of candelabra, stone and metal shapes as though from a pastry oven—and all this juxtaposed and interlocked rather than blended, with a profusion of colour.

It is almost impossible to describe these structures precisely, for their freakishness defies the common terminology of architecture. We shall recognize several of these singularly shaped and curiously placed decorative units in other paintings by this master, including some painted at a much later date.

By and large, the effect of the altarpiece of the Apostles is provocative and irritating rather than satisfying, let alone liberating. One senses an inchoate urge for expression and dramatic effect in this savage and menacing press of uncouth and unwieldy figures. The Apostles are heavy-handed, thick-headed and underset in stature. Their coarse features are disfigured and contorted with fanaticism borne of peril and crisis. Mouths are large, often like deep fissures, eyes dark and wide-set. Furrows seem to have been chipped out of foreheads, noses arch up vulgarly and sometimes look as though they had been stuck on. Cheek-bones are wide and brows low.

Van Orley's groups are organized by over emphatic contrasts, lightning-like accents. Like Gossart at about the same time, he ventures far in the direction of chiaroscuro. Although this heightens the sense of pathos, it also serves to obscure certain weaknesses in his forms, which made his work easier.

The landscape in the background is light-coloured, in contrast to the dark figures. It is bare and devoid of mood, punctuated with towering rocky escarpments with vertical, slatelike stratifications. The vegetation consists of brightly dotted foliage from which frondlike blades arch out here and there.

The cloth of which the garments are fashioned is heavy, as though lined, and seen three-dimensionally, with deep recesses. Van Orley's powers of expression are equal only to showing the short hands outstretched, not closed into fists, or with the fingers separated.

Pigments are treachy, opaque and applied in impasto, all of which accords with the earth-bound, concrete approach. The style exemplified in the altarpiece of the Apostles acquaints us with van Orley's earliest phase of development, one that can be explained only from the traditions of Brussels. We know nothing of Valentin van Orley, the master's father, although I have endeavoured to project a picture of the output of the Brussels school in general, insofar as this is possible from the surviving specimens⁷. The qualities that stand out are the ability to fill large areas, the habit of framing and separating scenes with buildings, vivid narrative and a robust and even crude manner of presentation⁸.

Scheibler ranked several other paintings as works of van Orley similar in kind and approximately contemporary with the altarpiece of the Apostles. Particularly in point is the picture of a bishop preaching, supposedly St. Norbert, in the Pinakothek at Munich (123, Plate 108), and a somewhat smaller panel in the museum at Schwerin, *Abraham's Sacrifice* (100, Plate 100). Others might be added, some at a level no higher than craftsmanship. I have no doubt at all that van Orley ran a workshop when he was still quite young, turning out altarpieces with the help of pupils. There is, however, no dearth of remnants from large altarpieces, which were on the same level as the altarpiece of the Apostles, as far as execution is concerned. Our picture of van Orley's output during this early phase is enriched by two altar wings in the Mortimer Schiff collection in New York (92, Plates 90-91), by two panels, belonging together, in the collection of Baron Schröder in London (91, Plate 89), by a diptych in the Kobler collection, New York (90, Plate 88), and lastly by a panel, *St. Matthew Enthroned*, in the possession of Frau von Gold-

7. Cf. vol. IV, pp. 56 ff.

8. In the church of St. James in Antwerp, a sequence of panels from the legend of St. Roch is preserved, which is strongly reminiscent of Bernart van Orley, in the architectural forms as well as the compositional approach (cf. Aschenheim, *Die Christliche Kunst*, vol. 6, No. 6, pp. 169 ff.). One of the panels is dated 1517. At that time both Bernart's father and his brother Everard were working in Antwerp. In my view it may be a tenable hypothesis to regard brother Everard as the author of the St. Roch panels.

ammer, Plausdorf Castle, Hesse (121, Plate 107). Two of these works are signed with the van Orley family arms.

The Schiff panels are squarish shutters, painted on both sides (92, Plates 90-91). The left wing shows a legendary scene I have been unable to identify (92, Plate 90). Within a loggia, a king seems to be knighting a young warrior, who has fallen to his knees, in the presence of four courtiers. Outside, in a courtyard, are two greyhounds, while a bearded man who seems to have an injured leg sits by a house. The other wing shows the Virgin within a chapel, with Sts. Peter, Paul and Agnes, another holy woman, a bishop and an angel (92, Plate 91). Outside the structure is a monk, about to enter the sacred precinct. In the background one of the bishop's miraculous deeds is enacted. The lights of the chapel windows show one escutcheon with the three shields of the painters and another with van Orley's own mark, two slightly curving vertical stripes on a light ground. Quite apart from this confirmatory signature, none who knows the altarpiece of the Apostles could be in any doubt about the author. The architectural forms, purer Renaissance by a degree, the facial types, the sharp lighting, the heavy brushwork and especially the form of the hands, with fingers extended in parallel and slightly thickened at the tips—all these bespeak van Orley. Greater polish, dignity and freedom of movement, on the other hand, indicate that these altarpiece shutters were painted after the altarpiece of the Apostles.

The outsides bear a curious decoration, each showing an abbot's staff, a banderole inscribed *Finis coronat* and small, framed and suspended tablets, showing, on the left, the Virgin in half-length, and on the right, an abbot as the donor.

Fashioned in the same lively and dramatic style as the New York panels are the two in the Schröder collection (91, Plate 89). The left shutter shows a holy king of France, probably St. Louis, amid beggars and cripples, the right one the martyrdom of St. Catherine.

The diptych in the collection of A. J. Kobler, New York, shows a *Betrothal of the Virgin* and a *Christ among the Doctors*, with an angel holding an escutcheon on the back of one panel (90, Plate 88). It is in every respect closely related to the altarpiece of the Apostles as is the *St. Matthew Enthroned* at Plausdorf Castle which again shows the van Orley insignia in the decoration of the throne, although in indistinct form (121, Plate 107).

Clearly, van Orley soon established a reputation in Brussels for the energy and competence with which he executed large altarpieces. The marks that distinguish his work are the skill with which he arranges and organizes legendary scenes, his command of large groups and his pointed narrative style, spiced with exotic dress and architecture. Van Orley thought of himself as an innovator and was regarded as such. His rather loud, naïve and plain-spoken style shows variations and lacks character. As always with masters of this stripe, the patient work of stylistic analysis gains assurance in van Orley's case not so much from immersion in his creative personality, but rather by observing certain habits, quirks that recur like a signature, especially in his ornamentation.

The representation of the Virgin, of course, calls for a gentler, more lyrical mood, and this the youthful master neglected. In fact, the Brussels school exerted less influence in this area than the more substantial tradition of Bruges.

There is a Madonna by van Orley, however, that falls into the line of his youthful works—the one that has gone to the Metropolitan Museum from the Emden and Altman collections (124, Plate 110). The Virgin is seated athwart a patch of lawn bordered with flagstones, by a fountain. Her inclined figure, shrouded in a voluminous, fur-lined robe, forms an isosceles triangle, into which fits the child, squirming in her hands. Placed a little further back, between her and the Gothic metal fountain, are two singing angels. The setting, shown in rather high perspective, is the garden of a palace, with a low wall in the back, a well-kept, peaceful plaisance evenly bathed in summer daylight. Hill country is seen above the wall in the background, with steep, vertically schistose rock. On the right, in oblique perspective in depth, is the palace façade, with a porch.

This panel shares virtually all its qualities with the altarpiece of the Apostles (82, Plates 71-73)—the level of command of form, the provocatively sharp and divisive alternation of light and dark, the architectural forms, the streaky impasto brushwork, the technique in which the foliage is shown, with bright leaflets in the middleground and an even pattern of pearly dots in the background. The palace is adorned with candelabrumlike pinnacles, applied without much rhyme nor reason. The fine filigree work of the fountain is shown in minutest detail like the fussy centre pillar in the altarpiece of the Apostles, where the branching scrollwork runs in the same kind of spiral as the tip of the fountain here. The Virgin's large head is shown in half-profile, its features sensual rather than spiritual, eyes half-closed, the modelling indicated largely by a shadow beneath the nose and dark lines indicating the indentations of the lips. The whole composition breathes a wholesome freshness and rather straightforward grace.

Among van Orley's portraits, I venture to class but one with his youthful works, the young man with the gloves in the Vienna museum (150, Plate 124). This half-length figure with sharply sloping shoulders is set off very sharply against a very dark neutral ground. The features are in the main vigorously modelled, with heavy shadows, although leaving something to be desired in detail. The plump and callow sitter, with a large, coarsely shaped mouth and a slightly saddleshaped nose, gazes out into the world from lightless eyes with an air of ill temper and truculence. We find this shy and uncertain expression of hidden presumption in several portraitlike faces in van Orley's early compositions. I sense something here of the inner life of this ambitious and rising young master.

We are able to gain a fairly clear picture of the portraits van Orley did for the court about 1516. By comparison with the Vienna portrait, they show much greater facility and routine skill; and this lack of correspondence shows quite clearly that the Vienna panel could have been done only at an early period.

Bernart van Orley's Second Period

1515-1520

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It requires a good deal of effort to bridge the gulf between the altarpiece of the Apostles (82, Plates 71-73) and the Job altarpiece (85, Plates 78-81) in the Brussels museum, which is signed, and dated 1521.

As we have learned, van Orley was busy, between 1515 and 1520, on a triptych for Furnes in Flanders. Much would be gained, if we could demonstrate that this altarpiece, or any part of it, survived among the paintings on view today. A. J. Wauters believed he was able to provide precisely such a demonstration¹.

He identified a painting in the museum at Turin (99, Plate 99), already recognized by Scheibler as being by van Orley's hand, as part of the Furnes altarpiece—and I believe his argumentation is irrefutable. A manuscript by one Breynaert, dated 1794, describes the church of St. Walpurgis and tells us something about the altarpiece: *A côté du portail de l'église est une place carrée. Au mur du côté ouest se trouve un tableau qui a servi autrefois de retable à l'autel de la sainte Croix et qui se fermait au moyen de volets; ce qui est prouvé par la représentation historique de l'arrivée de la relique de la sainte Croix, en cette ville, et de l'autel où elle fut déposée. Ce tableau est peint sur bois et représente la sortie de Jésus des portes de Jérusalem où sainte Véronique rencontre Jésus. Il représente aussi le crucifiement et la descente de la croix.*

It was a triptych, in other words, including three scenes from the Passion of Christ, in addition to two historical scenes relating to a relic of the Holy Cross. When the shutters were open, the scenes from the Passion were visible, with the Crucifixion in the middle. When they were closed, the outsides showed the arrival of the relic and the altar in which it was deposited. The enumerated representations could scarcely have been distributed in any other way, and Wauters is quite wrong in regarding the Turin panel, which he correctly identified as part of the Furnes altarpiece, as the centre-piece. Perspectivewise it is a right-hand wing, the vanishing-point lying precisely on the left-hand side of the frame, i.e. towards the centre of the altarpiece.

In striking agreement with the old description, as I read it, we find an apse in the Turin panel, within which stands an altar with a richly ornamented casket and, on that, a case about two feet high, well-calculated to hold a fragment of the Holy Cross. So far as I am concerned, this proves beyond doubt that we are here dealing with the outside of the right shutter of the Furnes altarpiece. It challenges credibility that there should have been in the Netherlands about 1520 two triptychs depicting an altar with a reliquary on the outside of the right shutter.

A. Baudi di Vesme argues against this identification². He suggests that the painting is already on record in 1718 as part of the collection of Marcello Durazzo in Genoa, hence could not have been described as being in Furnes

1. *Le Retable de Sainte Walpurgis*, Brussels, 1899.

2. *L'Arte*, vol. 3, p. 132.

in 1794. The Genoa reference is to a picture by Dürer *rappresentante la funzione del Sacro Crisma celebrata alla presenza d'un Re di Francia*. If this does indeed apply to the Turin painting—and it certainly does not do so unequivocally—I should still like to cling to the identification proposed by Wauters, explaining the chronological discrepancy with the conjecture that the description allegedly made in 1794 may have simply been copied from a much older text. This surmise would be supported by the noteworthy fact that Descamps, describing the church at Furnes in his *Voyage pittoresque* of 1769, fails even to mention van Orley's altarpiece, which would have surely been hard to overlook.

Quite apart from the altar niche with the relic of the Holy Cross, the Turin picture presents certain difficulties Wauters himself was unable to clear up. What is the significance of the main scene within the chapel? A French king, a prince, two bishops, an abbot, two clerics and a young man of secular aspect are crowded together as they stand or kneel about an open casket, reminiscent of a sarcophagus. The king holds a vessel in both hands, while the two bishops hold a bowl. It looks as though they had removed these metal objects from the richly decorated chest. In the courtyard are cripples and patients, approaching the chapel, as though it were a place of healing.

Wauters relates this representation to St. Walpurgis, a precious relic of whose bones Charles the Bald presented to the church at Furnes as a gift. But there is not a sign of any bones, and I cannot accept this explanation. Presumably a special altar was dedicated exclusively to the patroness of this church, nor was there any reason for entering into her legend in an altarpiece commissioned by the confraternity of the Holy Cross. No, the scene must have an explanation connected with the history of the confraternity itself. Possibly it owned the silver vessels taken from the chest, the gift, perhaps, of a king of France.

However that may be, it is certain that the Turin panel represents a work executed in van Orley's workshop between 1515 and 1520. Payments for the altarpiece were made from Furnes in 1517 and 1518, and it was set up in 1520. In terms of stylistic analysis, the surviving panel follows the altarpiece of the Apostles and precedes the Job altarpiece, a chronology that corresponds to the documented dates, confirming the whole conception. Charlotte Aschenheim has voiced certain reservations in respect of this sequence in time³. But they are based on a rather biased view of the architectural forms and seem to me unconvincing. She claims that the architecture in the Turin panel (99, Plate 98) is more on the Gothic side than that in the altarpiece of the Apostles (82, Plates 71-73). This is quite true, but it does not follow that the altarpiece of the Apostles is the later work. It must be borne in mind that the painter, in contrast to the altarpiece of the Apostles, was now confronted with a chapel that actually stood—the one in Furnes he was expected to depict. Whether he did this properly and accurately is another question. But in this instance he was certainly under no obligation to exercise his imagination, to invent alien architecture, as in the case of the altarpiece of the Apostles.

We were already able to sense the direction in which van Orley was mov-

3. *Der Italienische Einfluss in der flämischen Malerei*, Heitz, Strasbourg, 1910, p. 34.

ing, when we examined the group of his youthful works. He was striving for ease of posture, fluency in narrative, grace, measure and dignity in his facial types, overcoming the gross and almost brutish aspect that had marked them heretofore. The Turin panel demonstrates that the master had made a good deal of progress along this path.

The heads of the men have become smaller and now display deep-seated eyes and deeply modelled cheekbones. A smooth and vacuous youthful face appears beside the weather-beaten ancients. Lighting accents are used less corrosively. The whole approach seems more routine and relaxed, with the result that the effect has become more tranquil and at once more indifferent.

The flesh of the cheeks looks friable, slack and wrinkled, with dimples and clefts at the chin. It is given careful but rather schematic animation.

In the Musée de l'Assistance Publique at Brussels stands a little-known and poorly publicized triptych (84, Plates 75-77), dated 1520, which has been claimed for van Orley in the older literature, although not without much hesitation and vacillation. Approximately contemporary with the Furnes altarpiece, it can be accepted here only if it does not clash with the Turin panel. Two arguments of no great force militate at once for van Orley's authorship. The painter was on terms of familiarity with Dr. Zelle, who is said to have worked in this Brussels hospital. Van Orley painted the doctor's portrait in 1519, about the same time the altarpiece was commissioned. Again, the work is inscribed: *Dit es ghemacht [25] anno xv^exx den xi dach Augusti*. This unusual addition of the day of the month is found in another signed work of van Orley—the Job altarpiece.

The wide centre panel, showing a *Death of the Virgin* (84, Plate 76), has an extension at the top. This upper part shows an *Ascension of the Virgin*, and is covered with small, separate shutters. The shutters below consist of two narrow panels each, side by side. When open, the shutters show a *Virgin at the Temple*, an *Annunciation*, a *Visitation*, a *Nativity*, an *Adoration* and a *Presentation* (84, Plate 77). The versos show the *Mass of Pope Gregory* and *Sts. Catherine and Gertrude with Two Woman Donors*.

The execution is uneven and leaves something to be desired, especially on the versos of the shutters. If we take into account the possibility that van Orley, who was a very busy man around 1520, availed himself of assistance in painting this altarpiece, we would look to the overall invention for his personal contribution. While the large assemblage in the centre panel does not overwhelm us with its spirit, it is satisfying in its easy and skilful array, its loose symmetry and its rhythmical pattern. Dignified figures of medium stature and with rather large heads, types rather than individuals distinguished according to age and beard-style, stand, kneel and sit to the right and left of the Virgin's deathbed. We know them in part from the Turin panel, which is composed in similar fashion. For example, the dark and wistful man with a shock of woolly black hair who there stands between the bishops, turns up twice here among the Apostles. I am satisfied that the hospital altarpiece was executed in van Orley's studio. True, it does not tell us very much about his own hand, but it does afford us a glimpse of the store

of compositions at the disposal of his studio. He seems to have had an almost unthinking facility in composing all the customary, traditional, oft-repeated scenes from the life of the Virgin, which he exercised prettily to the end of pleasing the crowd. We repeatedly come upon the same compositions with only minor modifications; and, proceeding from the hospital altarpiece (84, Plates 75-77) and the Turin panel (99, Plate 99), we are able to assemble a large group of pictures, mostly of small size, with which van Orley met the popular demand for devotional imagery about 1518. Having once achieved recognition, he tended to take the easy and economical way, limiting himself to simply organized groups. His youthful ardour for scenes of vehement agitation had cooled. We think we can discern a period of frugality, beginning about 1515 and ending, as we shall see, about 1520.

In the Colonna Gallery in Rome (94, Plate 95) and in the museum at Antwerp (95, Plate 96) are two panels with the *Seven Sorrows of Mary*, and the Roman collection also has a companion piece, the *Seven Joys of Mary* (94, Plate 94). The Mater Dolorosa is shown in knee-length, with a large, radiating mandorla. The well-known scenes appear on seven small discs to either side and above, and these are in rather close agreement in the panels in Rome and Antwerp, although the latter shows a Virgin rather different in type and attitude. The single Sorrow that occurs in the Brussels hospital altarpiece, the *Presentation* (84, Plate 77), corresponds in its main aspects with the medallions in Rome and Antwerp, while the *Annunciation* (84, Plate 76) and *Nativity* (84, Plate 77) in the same work agree with the Colonna panel. The *Lamentation* in both of the *Seven Sorrows* recurs—in larger, squarish format and with a female donor added—in a panel in private hands in Stockholm (116, Plate 106).

An *Annunciation* in the Langaard collection in Oslo (102, Plate 101) is composed, in its essential features, much like the *Annunciations* in Brussels and Rome. The gentle head of the Virgin in Oslo agrees completely with the Mater Dolorosa in Rome. A very conspicuous feature in several pictures of this period is the halo of rays, which becomes almost a signature. The long, straight lines issuing from the head of the Virgin in the *Annunciation* end unevenly, in dots, and sometimes—although not here—they run radially through a disc that encircles the head with light and dark zones. Haloes were no longer the general rule in the Netherlands by 1515, and when they were rendered visible at all, they were barely hinted at. Van Orley too did without the halo in many instances; but when he did show it, he sought to gain a strong, picturesque effect through the luminous phenomenon.

In the period around 1517 van Orley created many Madonna panels, nearly all of which survive in several replicas. The Virgin is shown with the child but without Joseph, often in full-length, sometimes knee-length, usually out-of-doors. Van Orley never painted the tightly framed bust-length type of Madonna Gossart favoured. The figure is settled comfortably within a relatively large area. The master was after overall grace and harmony, enhanced with buildings or with wooded or hilly landscape, and he did not enter deeply into the physical configuration. None of these panels is signed. Indeed, one of them, a *Virgin Enthroned*, now in the Prado, was, according

to an inscription on the back, presented to King Philip II by the town of Louvain as early as 1588 as the work of Jan Gossart (129, Plate 113)! Yet the architecture in this panel includes so many elements familiar to us from van Orley's pictures—an apse with a scallop-shell top, dolphins as part of the decoration of the capitals, medallions with profiles of warriors and emperors—that there can be no doubt of his authorship, despite the confusing inscription. The Virgin's features are pervaded by that mild and dreamlike sweetness, that inoffensive vacuity peculiar to van Orley's Madonnas.

Fortunately, the conclusions from stylistic analysis are buttressed by one Madonna within this unitary group, which we encounter in the possession of Prince of Wied (133, Plate 115). It is one-half of a diptych painted for the regent Margaret and would have to be considered the work of her court painter, apart from stylistic analysis. As shown in several copies of the whole work (133a, 133b, Plate 115), the right wing is a portrait of the regent in an attitude of devotion. In this small domestic altarpiece, painted about 1520 and presumably meeting the expectations of van Orley's patroness, Margaret is seated at one end of a table covered with a rug. With her right hand she leafs through a prayer book, while her left is raised to her breast. Opposite her, at the other end of the table sits the Virgin, both her hands supporting the child, who seeks to scamper across the table towards the regent. The call *Veni* issues from the child's extended hand, answered on the other side—in one copy—with the word *Placet*. The right half of this intriguing composition is lost—unless a portrait of Margaret, cut down to oval size, represents a surviving remnant (133, Plate 115). This panel, however, formerly in the von Hollitscher collection, lacks the *Placet* of the copy. Margaret looks relatively young in this portrait—she was 40 years old in 1520. She is shown wearing the star-shaped, pleated jabot with which she is customarily shown. The whole conception and pose correspond closely with several individual portrait panels that are, with good reason, traced back to van Orley.

I count ten Madonnas, not including replicas, that were created between 1515 and 1520, and the one in Neuwied stands at the end of the series. All these panels are effortlessly composed and executed with superficial ease (125, Plate 109; 126, Plate 111; 127; 128, Plate 112; 129, Plate 113; 130, Plate 114; 133, Plate 115; 135, Plate 116; 136, Plate 117; 137a, Plate 118).

Exceptionally, van Orley, on three occasions, stuck to a traditional scheme, the 'Madonna in the Apse'⁴, which, already a hundred years old, was still being repeated in 1520. Van Orley's variations on this primitive theme are preserved in the Oldenburg museum (125b, Plate 109), the Prado (125a, Plate 109) and the museum at Cadiz (125c, Plate 109). In the appurtenances with which the original composition has been enriched and modernized, the three panels differ from one another. The architectural motives of the open lobby in the Oldenburg version show the familiar forms in abundance—those abstruse and arbitrarily mingled decorative elements that proliferate so luxuriantly in the altarpiece of the Apostles. In the Madrid version, the architecture is limited to the purpose of framing the picture area, and six singing and playing angels have been added. The face of the Virgin has gain-

4. See vol. II, No. 74.

ed in beauty and delicacy. In type and in the immense halo of rays, it is reminiscent of the *Annunciation* in Oslo (102, Plate 101).

From the large number of smaller panel paintings that belong here⁵, I single out a carefully done *Lamentation* which has gone to the Schiff collection in New York (115, Plate 106). The sorrowing Virgin is seated in the middle, the body of Jesus on her lap. On the left, St. John supports the body with hands protected with a cloth. On the right kneels Mary Magdalene. There is much feeling in this composition, which is rather in the spirit of Quentin Massys. The Virgin resembles the Mater Dolorosa in the Antwerp *Seven Sorrows* (95, Plate 96). Her hand is lean and pointed, but shaped as in the Neuwied Madonna (133, Plate 115), although there it has grown fleshier.

The little triptych in Cassel, with the figures lined up like columns, shows this same dainty style (83, Plate 74). The countryside in the background is set off against the clouded sky with gently curving lines. No longer does it pile up into steep cliffs—it is now organized horizontally, studded with trees and buildings, held together in the dusk of evening, its wealth of landscape and architectural motives half-veiled. No longer is it cold, explicit and bright as day, as in the paintings from the early period.

As painter to the regent, van Orley had to do portraits of royal personages. Documents indicate that as early as 1515 he painted Margaret's nephews and nieces, i.e. the Emperor-to-be Charles, Ferdinand, Eleanor, Isabella, Mary and Catherine. Portraits were conferred like medals in those days, and courts were in the habit of presenting them to one another, hence there was a heavy demand. We are not surprised to find more than one specimen of the same likeness, of equal merit, and we must assume that the replicas were painted in the workshop of the court painter, which serves to explain the modest artistic value of so many royal portraits. At the time van Orley was recruited for service at the court, following the death of Jacopo de'Barbari, the demand for portraits rose particularly because far-sighted dynastic policy planned marriages for the six children of Philip the Fair through which relationships to foreign courts would be established and zealously cultivated. In addition to van Orley, who took care of normal needs with competence and dispatch, other painters were commissioned on occasion, as was demonstrably the case with Jan Gossart.

Among the portraits that have come down to us there is not a single signed specimen by van Orley representing a member of the House of Hapsburg. Stylistic criticism, identification of the sitters and estimates of their age help us to bring some order into the material and give us an idea of the master's work in this sphere. Our first certain point of departure is the portrait of the physician Zelle in the Brussels museum, which is signed in an inscription and dated 1519 (144, Plate 121). Here we stand before a likeness that was painted by van Orley's own hand. Dr. Zelle was van Orley's neighbour, and the two were evidently on friendly terms. The youthful doctor is shown at half-length and in full-face, sitting in his study behind a table on which lies an open book. A sheet of paper with writing is placed on the thick tome, and the doctor holds a writing-pen in his right hand. He is not at all pre-

5. See Catalogue B.

occupied with what he is doing, but instead gazes into the distance with a slight squint. Behind, on the wall of the chamber, hangs a woven rug with an inscribed border that reads: GEOR: D: ZELLE · PHYSICVS: AETAT: 28—BERNARDVS: DORLEII · FACIEBAT · BRVXELL: M · D · XIX—. The field of the rug shows an alternating pattern of two joined hands—surely a symbol of friendship—and a group of letters concealing some motto or saying.

The sitter's character does not emerge with clarity from this uncertainly shaped visage with its shallow features. Our desire to enter into his mind is frustrated. There is merely a vague semblance of fickle indifference and emotional frigidity.

The folds of the sleeves form wide, shallow valleys. The highlights are on the crude side, in impasto hatching. The hands end in long, flat fingers, with the terminal joints slightly upturned and bearing square-cut nails.

Having examined this authenticated portrait, we are likely to approach the court portraits with somewhat reduced expectations.

At least five portraits of the regent Margaret are known, all going back to a single original composition (151a, Plate 126; 151b, Plate 126; 151c, Plate 126; 151d, Plate 126; 151e, Plate 126). Shape and carriage of the head, like the dress, are slavishly copied in all the specimens. The execution varies in finesse, and the hands are differently articulated in each. The one in the Antwerp museum (151e, Plate 126) is mediocre and quite evidently a copy, not essentially better than the one at Hampton Court (151d, Plate 126), while the replicas in the Carvalho collection (151e, Plate 126) and the Brussels museum (151b, Plate 126) are much superior. Still a cut higher is a specum that has gone into the Wilkinson collection in Paris (151a, Plate 126). Here both hands, along the lower edge, are shown in lively motion.

There are a number of portraits, all seemingly done about 1515, of the emperor-to-be, who was born in 1500. One in the Louvre (124a, Plate 120), agreeing almost perfectly with another in the Naples museum (142b, Plate 120), unquestionably goes back to an original by van Orley. The prince wears the chain of the Order of the Golden Fleece, and his large, round, pearl-rimmed hat buckle shows two c's in opposition. Indifferent in execution, these workshop replicas are stilted and conventional in attitude and reveal virtually nothing of the portraitist's temperament. Only the carefully groping hand that lies relaxed on the parapet gives a hint of van Orley. The terminal finger joint, slightly swollen, turns upwards.

Quite different in character and suprisingly original in concept is the portrait of Charles in the Budapest museum (143, Plate 120). Here the prince does not look much older than in the Paris and Naples portraits, and he wears the same hat with the same buckle, but a sudden and almost vehement turn of the head gains him an air of imperious pathos. His chest is oriented obliquely in space, the head twisted even farther to one side and tilted back at the same time, the commandingly raised chin and the tensed muscles of the throat investing him with an impressive aura of willpower and sovereignty. The abnormally long chin and the parted lips are softened by the lift and tilt of the head, yet used to enhance the expression. We are reluctant

to credit the Brussels master with such sharp individualization, which is more in the manner of his rival Gossart. Nevertheless, I do not question van Orley's authorship. What is visible of the garment, the shallow recesses on the chest, the creased linen and especially the shape of the hands tip the balance in his favour. The foreshortened hand on the parapet is like all of van Orley's hands in that it neither claws nor grasps, unlike Gossart's; and the generously conceived head lacks the wealth of form and individual detail Gossart would have discovered. Then too, the reflections on the shaded and foreshortened side of the face, which are so characteristic of Gossart, are lacking.

Bernart van Orley's Third Period

1521-1526

65

In the year 1521, van Orley was about 30 years old. To the extent his works that have come down to us and are known to us tell us anything about him and his development, it would seem that this year marked a turn in his life. At least, the Job altarpiece in the Brussels museum (85, Plates 78-81), which is dated 1521, shows an eruption of ambitions of which there is very little sign in works done only a short time before. This triptych, entitled not inappropriately *The Ordeal and Patience of Job*, was painted at the behest of the regent Margaret as gift for Antoine de Lalaing, Lord of Hoogstraeten. The very signature, unusual, multiple and ostentatious, shows that the master meant to give his best, thought he was presenting an extraordinary spectacle, sought to maintain or perpetuate his reputation by means of a major achievement. Along the lower margin of the centre panel we read in stately Roman capitals: BERNARDVS·DORLEÿ·BRUXELLANVS·FACIEBAT: Ä·DNI·M^o·CCCC^o·XXI^o·IIII^a·MAÿ: In front and at the end appears a monogram formed of the letters BOV (?). In addition, there is coat of arms on a pillar to the left, and above it the motto: *Elx syne tyt* (all in its time) *Orley*, and underneath, 1521. The master could scarcely get his fill of advertising the work as his very own.

The very theme demanded freedom of treatment, for there was no tradition to guide or shackle the painter. Van Orley seized the occasion to interpret scripture with great pictorial audacity, choosing scenes of turbulence and high drama. When the shutters are open, we witness the ordeals and visitations that rain down upon the God-fearing Job, blow upon blow. On the left, his herds are being driven off by armed robbers. In the middle, his great hall is destroyed by the 'great wind from the wilderness', and his sons and daughters, assembled for a feast, are slain by the falling masonry. On the right, Job stands on the steps of his palatial residence, listening to the news of misfortunes from the lips of his kneeling friends.

In the centre panel (85, Plate 79) the disaster is made poignantly clear in broad and even daylight—the painful imminence of sudden danger, horror, fright, despair, vain attempts at flight. The spectacle of bodies scurrying away full tilt, mostly at a slant, forms a strange contrast to the tidy hall, with its dainty, decorated pillars still upright, while from dark thunder clouds against the ceiling demons dispatch death and destruction. Van Orley rallied all his resources to master the bold foreshortenings, the extremely complex postures in this naïve virtuoso piece, which amazes rather than moves with its extravagance.

The architecture is in a purer Renaissance style than the loggias in the altarpiece of the Apostles—at least to the extent that all Gothic and Romanesque elements have been purged; but its provenance from the highly individual imagination with which we are familiar from earlier works is clear. Van Orley corners one of his pillars with columns, studs it with medal-

lions, angel's heads, seated putti, garlands issuing from ram's heads. Dolphins disport themselves about his capitals. A scallop-shell niche is topped by candelabralike crests. The jutting cornices and mouldings and the ornamental panels testify to an enhanced knowledge of Italian models, but in many details van Orley remains true to his established habits. Careful scrutiny of the architectural forms and of the fussy and busy ornamentation confirms the identity, and when we look back and compare this work with the *Virgin Enthroned*, in the Prado (129, Plate 113), for example, it is immediately apparent as stemming from the same inventive mind.

Yet the unexpected vehemence in expression—the imperilled men shouting and throwing up their arms—entails distortions that make it hard to recognize the master. At first blush, it looks as though van Orley had become a different man. Only a thoroughgoing analysis tells us he had changed in neither temperament nor disposition nor taste. All that had happened was that he had given himself a frantic wrench, that he had taken on more than he could handle.

The figures are short, with large heads. They look stocky, for all of them are shown in more or less foreshortened aspect. But if we ignore the contortions the master used to depict deadly peril, we tend to find familiar elements—in the heads, the hands, the drapery. True, the draughtsmanship has become nimbler. Every one of the panels, even the backs of the shutters, show the painter to have been at work with the same painstaking care. Apparently he ruled out any participation on the part of his pupils.

The head of the fleeing man in the foreground may serve as an exemplar. Slightly deformed, short in the nose, the face knotted and lumpy, it would appear to be a masterpiece of anatomical construction. In truth, it is quite indifferent in that respect. In the drapery parallel folds predominate—sharply framed hollows and flashing zigzag lines. Despite their vehement gesticulation, the hands with their relatively thin, spread and extended fingers appear flaccid and anything but vigorous.

A degree of absurdity was inevitable in the final result, for the master was after everything at once—elegance of presentation, the impact of dramatic narrative, grandeur and delicacy.

The parable of poor Lazarus and the rich man is combined as an appropriate homily with the story of Job and skilfully spread over three levels on the outsides of the shutters (85, Plate 81), offering plenty of effective contrast. In the lower left foreground, we see the wretched figure of the sick and suffering Lazarus being chased from the threshold of a house by a coarse minion armed with a club. Further up and back, visible within the frame of a colonnade, the rich man sits at table with a young woman and a young man. At the very top, the soul of poor Lazarus, in the shape of a naked boy, is being escorted to heaven by two angels within a gloriole. Below on the right, the rich man is shown in purgatory, and, above, on his deathbed. Still further up, the Almighty is receiving the soul of poor Lazarus.

The British Museum owns a drawing that must be considered a sketch by van Orley for the outside of his Job altarpiece, unless it is associated with the

altarpiece in some other way (Plate 141). A carefully finished and pleasing sheet, highlighted in white, it does not look like a design proper but more like a cartoon, *eene patron*, to be submitted to a client, to give him an idea of how the painter expected the altarpiece to look, and possibly to afford him an opportunity to alter or modify the design. The plan was indeed radically changed—if this drawing is regarded as a proposal by the master, that is. The story subsequently accommodated in three levels on the two shutters is spread over a single broad expanse in the drawing, which was apparently meant to show the centre panel as well as the inside shutters. The centre foreground in the drawing is taken up by the rich man at table, here shown dining with two ladies. On the left is poor Lazarus in a posture similar to that in the painting. On the right is the rich man in the devil's clutches. The death-bed scene is in the right background. When one carefully compares the two arrangements, one cannot help but gain a favourable picture of the artist's willingness to shift the motives about and adapt himself to the new exigencies of the available area, to relinquish the inner tripartite design in favour of one with two halves.

The drawing was done at an earlier date than the altarpiece, say about 1520. Its formal idiom serves as an illuminating example, a point of departure. It breathes a graceful spirit, displays a gentle flow of lines and a certain tasteful detachment, qualities that were sacrificed in the painting to the striving for dramatic effect.

For the ornamentation of his Job altarpiece, van Orley borrowed some motives from the engravings of Zoan Andrea, representing Mantegna's triumphal procession¹. Three reliefs on the balustrade of the palace in which the rich man dines are taken from that source. The foreshortened body of the rich man in hell, dramatically contorted, loudly proclaims its Raphaelesque derivation. Whether van Orley had before him a sketch of the fallen Heliodorus, from Raphael's fresco in the Stanza d'Elidoro, or whether the inspiration derived from the Ananias in the Sistine tapestries, in any event, a new ideal emerges here sharply. Van Orley had found a preceptor in Raphael, master of the Stanze and the tapestries, who gave eloquence to the human body in postures of great variety and nobility. The Netherlander sought to acquire this lofty and resounding idiom, but unfortunately, under his brush, Raphael's natural gestures degenerated into mere poses. What van Orley viewed as new and desirable was the *contrapposto* of the limbs, the flow and sweep of bodies seen from unexpected angles. Striving for dramatic and monumental expression, he aspired to complete mastery over the body's many postures and attitudes.

Clearly, an element of unrest, ambition and self-assertion begins to tinge the work of van Orley about 1521, and this was due to his encounter with three masters who were his superiors in skill, creative power and emotional depth, and who were calculated to shake him out of any complacency.

Gossart, his rival and fellow countryman, appeared on occasion in Brussels, where he was considered a purveyor of the gospel. And the doctrine pouring in from abroad was easily accessible in Gossart's transliterations.

1. Charlotte Aschenheim,
loc. cit., p. 32.

Again between 1514 and 1519, Raphael's cartoons stood in the Brussels workshop of the tapestry weaver Pieter van Aelst. The mountain had come to Mohammed. And van Orley, on close terms with the prestigious guild of tapestry weavers, took advantage of the opportunity for absorbing, to the extent he was able, this valid and classic perfection unfolding before him in alien grandeur.

By disposition and orientation, he was in a position to understand something of Raphael's achievement and to benefit from it. Even before his encounter with Raphael, he had been intent upon bodily grace, consistency of types, harmonious organization of the picture space. Some of his ambitions he saw fulfilled in the work of the Roman, albeit at a level so exalted that it was difficult of access for him. Yet the cartoons of Raphael did encourage him to invest his own work with simpler, wider, fuller form, in larger scale.

The third master was Dürer, who visited Brussels in 1520, with whom he became acquainted, and who painted his portrait in 1521. In the German he met a painter whose painstaking gravity was as alien to him as the sublime tranquillity and classical purity of Raphael. His encounter with Dürer may have stimulated his ambition, without exerting a demonstrable influence on the direction of his work. So far as we know, Gossart never came into personal touch with Dürer, yet Gossart understood the German far better, and paid his obeisance to Dürer's analytical observation and striving for rules and principles by going to considerable trouble to imitate him.

Simultaneously with the Job altarpiece, van Orley created four Madonna panels which, compared with his earlier responses to this particular challenge, most clearly exemplify the turn in his work. Two of these works are signed and dated—the one in the Louvre 1521 (139, Plate 118), the one in the Bosch collection in the Prado 1522 (140, Plate 119). A Madonna that has recently come on the market in London from the Northbrook collection (it forms half of a diptych with the Carondelet portrait in the Munich Pinakothek) (134, Plate 116), and a *Holy Family* in the Dansette collection at Brussels (141, Plate 119) are related in style to the signed and dated paintings.

The Virgin is in half-length or even visible to the knees, and large in proportion to the picture area. The elements of space, landscape and architecture, which were assigned equal value around the time of 1515, now recede. The picture subsists on the relieflike bodies spread out in the front plane, the Virgin, the Child, the bearded head of Joseph, one or two angels.

The juxtaposition shows greater ease and lacks the cramped effect of Gossart's Madonna panels. In one instance, van Orley's dependence on Raphael is manifest and tangible. He must have known the composition of the *Holy Family* of Francis I. In his panel now preserved in the Prado (140, Plate 119), the flying angel bringing the Virgin's crown is copied after the flower-strewing angel from the Roman group, as is the child running to his mother, although the position of the legs has been deliberately altered, which serves to obscure the borrowing. The relationship of the heads to one another and to the picture area as well as the postures partake of the spirit of Raphael. Here one begins to understand just why older authors conceived

the notion of describing the Brussels master as a disciple of Raphael. In his types, however, the Netherlander pursues his own way. Firm in his striving for grace, he purges and empties his forms. The head of Joseph in the Madrid picture, particularly, is a fully developed character study, forming an effective contrast to the silky-smooth flesh of the youthful and feminine figures. Wrinkled of face, the line of his cheekbones emphasized by the lighting, he wears a beard the curl of which is as cunningly elaborated as though Dürer had presided over the work.

As a painter, van Orley developed in the direction of Gossart. His colours grow smoother, purer, brighter, more transparent.

We possess a work of van Orley authenticated by documents—and indeed, mentioned by van Mander—in the triptych of the Last Judgment commissioned by the almoners of the Antwerp cathedral and finished in 1525 (87, Plates 84-85). Its execution seems to have extended over several years. The altarpiece is on permanent loan in the Antwerp museum. At a time when Quentin Massys was working in that town, the people of Antwerp nevertheless turned to the 'most excellent and renowned' painter at Brussels, as van Orley is described in the document. They also authorized a very substantial fee, further evidence of the success he had won among his contemporaries with his Job altarpiece and other achievements that had carried his fame far beyond the walls of his ancestral city. He was esteemed the Netherlandish Raphael and strove to prove himself worthy of the title. The centre panel with its cosmic vista is evenly filled with rhythmic movement (87, Plate 85). At the centre above, Christ is enthroned on a rainbow. Beneath him, angels wheel in great number, marked off against the bright sky with the richly varied silhouettes of their fluttering dark robes. Soaring flight with outstretched arms is depicted in many variants, and several of the figures capture the rhythm of Raphael with astonishing fidelity. Nothing else caused the Netherlanders so much trouble as to overcome the force of gravity; and if van Orley managed to overcome this innate handicap with Raphael's help, he did so not least by mastering the illusion of continuously flowing motion. It was his flair for investing limbs with a spontaneous sense of movement that was admired as the outstanding quality in his pictures.

Below, in an empty field, the resurrected are foregathered, regiments of nude men and women. The diminishing stature of the figures creates the illusion of spatial depth. Landscape features are barely hinted at. On the left are the blessed, looking upwards and saluting the light of heaven with vacant gestures. In the centre a burial is taking place. On the right are the damned, their despair finding expression in contorted postures. The burial scene is to be viewed as a labour of love—the altarpiece was dedicated to the seven 'good works'—and it is witnessed by a number of figures that bear the aspect of portraits, beyond doubt persons who were leading members of the eleemosynary body. Two of them have been erroneously identified as Luther and Melanchthon.

To combine Gossart's anatomical skill with Raphael's sublime grace in the depiction of nudity—this eclectic goal van Orley attained, to the degree

that such combinations, lacking in organic originality, can ever succeed.

The insides of the shutters show three 'good works' each, in the left foreground the feeding of the poor, on the right the clothing of the beggars (87, Plate 84). In the background are the nursing of the sick, the sheltering of the wayfarers, the care of prisoners and of the dying. Open loggias in the middleground are used to separate the scenes in wonted fashion—structures in a Renaissance style purer than that in the Job altarpiece. A new wave seems to have washed up knowledge of Southern architecture between 1521 and 1524. Only a few inconspicuous quirks remind us of van Orley's individual style, like the balusters or candelabrumlike pinnacles on the flat roof. For the rest, all has a classical, correct and orthodox look, barren of fussy decoration and make-believe. Enconced on clouds above are the Virgin and the Apostles, grouped in a downward curve much like the saints in Raphael's *Disputa* fresco in the Stanza della Segnatura. All are gesticulating, and their hair is blowing in the wind. The compassionate men dispensing food and clothing to the beggars show portrait heads. Without a doubt, some of the almoners from the body that commissioned the altarpiece are depicted here. The physical wretchedness and greed of the unfortunates are documented with the same zealous and drastic realism as in earlier works by van Orley. The coloration is heavy, cold and leaden.

If the master indeed visited Italy, as is assumed almost everywhere in the older literature, such a trip, it would seem to me, fits best into the time between 1522 and 1524, for the Antwerp altarpiece does manifest a considerably and conspicuously enhanced understanding of Renaissance architecture. Yet no such trip is actually needed to explain this 'progress'. Even without leaving his homeland, van Orley could have seen Italianate structures in 1523.

The triptych executed for Philip Haneton and now in the Brussels museum (86, Plate 83) comes originally from the church of St. Gudula, where Descamps saw it in the chapel of the Sacrament and described it, mentioning the painter's name. It may have been done at about the same time as the Job altarpiece, or only a little later. The donor, who died in 1529, had risen to high honours, being rewarded particularly by Charles V. He is depicted with his family on the insides of the shutters. The centre panel shows the body of Jesus, mourned by Mary Magdalene, John, Nicodemus, Joseph of Arimathea and the other Mary, all shown close together, head by head. The ground is gold hatched in black.

There is no better opportunity for studying van Orley's formal idiom, the more so since all is on a large scale here, displayed to view in the foreground—vacuous, youthful faces and others that are aged and weathered, hands, drapery. Grief and sorrow are expressed in furrowed brows and open mouths, with the sentimental style appropriate to the age. The noses are short, the broad and shallow chins cleft, the eyelids deeply moulded. The master favours a posture of the head peculiar to himself—a side view, with part of the forehead of the averted side visible, while the lower part of the face appears in *profil perdu*. The contours move smoothly, without accents,

except that a jagged harshness occasionally breaks the flow of the linen. Stimulated in all likelihood by Gossart, the master enlivens his overall bright and silvery flesh tints with patchy reflections. The curly hair with its many circular locks is also reminiscent of Gossart. Hands are thoroughly modelled, with a certain predilection for angular forms. The fingers are commonly extended in parallel, their joints set off from one another by shading. The heads of the two elders are formed somewhat uncertainly, pushed aside a little and shifted towards the background. The gowns exhibit dark hollows and continuous, strongly serpentine highlights.

On the inside of the shutters is the donor with his spouse, seven sons and five daughters, he under the protection of his name saint, she with St. Margaret. Here we come to know van Orley the portraitist, his self-assured albeit superficial outlining of given forms. The faces are, on the whole, brightly lighted, although their eyes are dull, their expression flat. Yet they join into a harmonious whole, subordinate themselves, so that the sense of a family group is preserved, even while individual peculiarities are brought out. On the outside of the shutters is an *Annunciation*, rather on the cold side, especially in respect of the drapery, and probably executed with the help of pupils.

Haneton's second daughter was painted by the master a second time, as part of a diptych (152, Plate 127). This half-length figure, wearing the same necklace and pendant as in the shutter of the Brussels triptych, is catalogued in the National Gallery at Edinburgh under the name of Gossart. The diptych, presumably with a Madonna as the other half, was conceived in the pattern of the double-picture van Orley had done for the regent Margaret². Haneton's daughter moves her well cared-for and slightly plump fingers not unlike the regent's. In costume and posture, the Edinburgh portrait coincides completely with the family group, but it is rather more pleasingly elaborated. What van Orley put on record here was the ideal of smooth, smug, self-satisfied, doll-like prettiness; and I have little doubt that his success at court and among highly placed officialdom goes back to his willingness to portray ladies along the lines of this ideal.

Proceeding from the donor portraits of the Haneton triptych, one finds it easy to claim a small group of individual portrait panels for van Orley, avoiding the danger of confusion with Gossart and other masters. Among these portraits is one dated 1522, in the Dresden museum (148, Plate 124), and a pair in the Uffizi in Florence (147, plate 122). Add to this the Carondelet in the Munich Pinakothek (146, Plate 123) and the half-length figure of an aged savant or high government official in the Brussels museum (149, Plate 125). In every case, it is the shaping of the hand that settles the issue, especially in the Munich portrait (146, Plate 123), part of a diptych, the other half of which, a Madonna, was in the Northbrook collection (134, Plate 116). The head of Carondelet, strangely opaque, possibly disfigured by an old 'restoration', coincides, in a way difficult to understand, with the Carondelet portrait recently reaching the Metropolitan Museum, New York, from the Havemeyer collection and certainly not painted by van Orley. The hands, the

2. See p. 61, above.

book, the folds of the sleeves in the Munich painting all testify unequivocally for the Brussels painter. Perhaps he faced the necessity of painting after a portrait done by someone else. Since the associated Madonna, moreover, was clearly done by van Orley—it seems to date from about 1520—there can be little doubt that van Orley did indeed portray this clerical statesman, whose favourite portraitist was Gossart.

In the Dresden male portrait (148, Pl. 124), a rug with a square pattern lies on the table—a carpet we know from the Master's Madonnas. The hand looks fleshy, especially the fingertips. The face seems torpid and ineffectual, although the jutting nose and the vertical furrow in the forehead bespeak willpower and intellectual vigour.

A greater psychological fascination issues from the tired old man in Brussels (149, Plate 125), doggedly sticking to his wonted writing work in his study. The face, somewhat overcleaned, is illuminated entirely in the manner of Gossart. The lines of the mouth appear unusually fine and expressive. The chamber is crowded with books, documents, records, their abundance and disorder characterizing an aged and overworked official. One might think of Gossart, were it not that the hand decides for van Orley—flaccid, with parallel fingers, the bones set off from one another, the tips pressed up, the squarish nails. And then too, there is the linen encircling the wrist with its angular creases, as we know it from the Haneton altarpiece.

A fragment from a *Crucifixion*, preserved in the Cook collection at Richmond (114, Plate 106), matches the Haneton triptych quite well in style. The part preserved includes the group of mourning women and St. John, the lower right corner of a larger panel. The Virgin has sunk down and is supported by John. Mary Magdalene is shown with arms spread wide. The other Mary has her hands raised and folded—she stands farther back and is cut off in part by the right edge. All the faces are shown in profile and turned upwards towards the crucified Saviour, with the exception of the Virgin.

Stylistically on the same level with the Antwerp altarpiece is a panel in the Rotterdam museum, again showing a *Crucifixion* (113, Plate 105), with the Virgin and St. John kneeling below the cross. There is an unusual symbolical embellishment up in the clouds—a figure of Charity, with four children, and a figure of Justice. Judging from the features and dress, Charity is a portrait of the regent Margaret. She may have commissioned the painting herself, or perhaps this was done by someone close to her, who sought to flatter her by this virtuous allusion. Above the cross, the Almighty approaches in soaring flight. The main figures, on their knees, are touched with pathos, shrouded in dark robes. Their silhouettes are wide and low. This panel is among the few van Orley painted with his own hands, and with great care as well. In it, he sought to realize the Roman ideal with the techniques of Netherlandish painting.

The Final Period — Tapestry and Stained Glass

73

When van Mander, about the year 1600, scraped together his bits of knowledge about van Orley, the thing his informants remembered most vividly was that the painter had worked on tapestries woven 'for the lady Margaret, other high personages and even the emperor'. Among 'many magnificent designs', the biographer singles out two sequences, of which he writes: 'Among others, the master made for the emperor diverse hunting scenes, on which one could recognize the woods and localities near Brussels where these hunts were held. The emperor and other princes and princesses were depicted from life and the whole work was woven into tapestries of great price. Recently, 16 of Bernart's cunningly painted tapestry cartoons (*tapijtpatroonen*) were taken to The Hague for His Excellency Count Maurice¹. Each shows a lady and a gentleman, both mounted and in lifesize, representing members of the House of Nassau from life. His Excellency Count Maurice had these cartoons copied in oil by the skilful Painter Hans Jordaens of Antwerp, who dwelt in Delft'.

1. In the appendix the author corrects this to eight.

These two sequences have been preserved, or at least not entirely lost. Small preliminary sketches of the hunting scenes are preserved in the Louvre, as are the finished tapestries. The genealogical cartoons of the House of Nassau are lost, but five sketches have turned up—four in the print room in Munich, one in the museum at Rennes.

Van Orley's work in the tapestry field probably began soon after he was appointed court painter, i.e. about 1520. He is mentioned as a witness to an agreement between the regent Margaret and Pieter de Pannemaker, on 1st September 1520, relating to two tapestries showing the *Passion of Christ*. It is plausible to believe that he was the person who drew the sketches for them².

2. A. Wauters, p. 66.

Four other drawings in the Munich print room, with scenes from Roman history, evidently designs for tapestries, are dated 1524 and signed with van Orley's monogram, BOV (?). The Battle of Pavia took place in 1525, and the designs in the Louvre for the tapestries now in the Naples Museum, showing episodes from this battle, were presumably drawn a short time afterwards. The battle designs accord so well with the hunt drawings that van Orley's authorship of both sequences is certain. The finished tapestries celebrating the victory at Pavia were presented to the emperor by the estates general in 1531.

The drawings in Munich—both series, the signed one and the one authenticated as van Orley's work by van Mander's statement—resemble each other, but show differences from the hunting and battle scenes in the Louvre. The best point of departure in judging van Orley as a draughtsman is provided by the Munich sheets. They are sketches in the proper sense of the word, spontaneous and unself-conscious, done with a free-flowing pen, with rather coarse washes. The figures are of middle size, for the most part plump, jerky in movement, reaching out wildly with fingers spread. The

compositions are crowded. The scenes from Roman history carry a hint of the swaggering extravagance of the Job altarpiece.

The drawings of hunting and battle scenes in the Louvre look more like designs or cartoons and are less individual in their draughtsmanship than those in Munich. I do not believe they are entirely by van Orley's hand. Someone who specialized in topographical detail seems to have filled in the landscapes and buildings with pedantic care. In the case of the Pavia battle scenes, it is a foregone conclusion that an assistant thoroughly familiar with the military and geographical facts must have taken a more than casual part. The story of this series is probably quite complicated and van Orley must have laboured under many restrictions and requirements. Possibly his high-born patron, who may have fought in the battle on the victorious side, conceived the plan, chose the episodes and arranged for some artist to sketch the battlefield from nature. The pictorial record, after all, had to stand up before eyewitnesses. An abundance of instructions, written reports and sketches had to be drawn on by van Orley. Perhaps the master accepted assistance even while making the small-scale designs. Félibien—a late witness, it is true—mentions a landscape painter named Tons in connection with the hunt tapestries, and Pieter Coeck van Aelst as the assistant. Pieter Coeck, born in 1502, is described as van Orley's pupil by van Mander. He became a master in Antwerp in 1527, which means that he might have worked in the Brussels workshop before that date. This is confirmed by the observation that in the field of designing tapestries he became van Orley's true successor.

As early as 1510, when the adaptable van Orley began to develop his own style, Brussels boasted the most important tapestry workshops; and the presence of the Burgundian-Hapsburg court served to enhance the prestige and capacity of this trade. The Burgundians and Hapsburgers were indeed the most zealous buyers and collectors of tapestries, a passion perpetuated in the enormous stores preserved in Vienna and Madrid. Tapestry weaving was the pride and glory of Brussels, and overall the town's artistic output was marked by the stylistic requirements of monumental decoration and of the weaver's craft. Panel painters yielded to the temptation to spill over into this neighbouring sphere, and the result was a process of cross-fertilization. The situation was not unlike that in respect of the woodcut in Germany, which had originally been an entirely separate and autonomous craft, only to be invaded by the painters in the late 15th century. In both cases, woodcuts and tapestries, the painters managed to loosen up a once-rigid style, although not without succumbing to it themselves. Even the Brussels master whom I have called the Master of Sainte Gudule designed tapestries about 1500, as I have endeavoured to prove³.

From the very beginning of his work, the painter has the finished product before his mind's eye, and everything he does subserves his vision of that goal. When he designs a tapestry, he thinks in terms of multicoloured wool and silk, of the final illusion coming into focus at a distance from the beholder—yet he is unable to realize this wishful image unaided. He must train special organs. The execution is not in his hands. He is the stimulator rather than

3. See vol. IV, pp. 62 ff.

the ruler of the work. Without his doing, the creation may turn out quite differently from what he has planned. His goal is only approximated. A tapestry is his work only in the sense that a chair is the work of the man who originally drew a design for it. Compared with a panel painting, it is a bastardized product, impersonal in character. The cartoons scaled up to the actual size of the tapestries, which served the weavers as a pattern—these were done by assistants. The master himself, in virtually every case, probably prepared only the small-scale designs. Since the weavers had to translate into their medium from the cartoons, subtleties from the master's own hand could not be expected to be reproduced. For that reason, it was a waste of time for him to bother with the huge cartoons.

Habituation to such dualism in production, such indirect creation, could not help but affect the painter's cast of mind. His situation reminds of that of a writer who works in awareness that his text will be read only in translation. His conviction that his most searching imagery will be fruitless inevitably results in frivolity or resignation. His pen is content to outline the main features, and he concentrates his energies upon the composition as such.

On the positive side, the tapestry designer's approach does awaken and enhance the imagination and the pace of invention. The narrator's tongue is loosened, and he is moved in the direction of monumentality. In the tapestry medium, a painter would encounter a tradition of allegory, poesy, history, mythology and genre. There were far greater abundance and variety of subjects and ideas than panel-painting could offer.

Van Orley's character was of a kind that the transition from painting altarpieces to designing tapestries seemed to him an act of liberation, rescuing him from burdensome duties, giving scope to his best endowments. Easily and felicitously, he struck the required note of fanfare, expansive composition, heroic pose and gesture, pomp and circumstance—in brief, all that was bound to please his patrons, by investing their walls with splendour and significance. The narrative is given at full voice, although it remains hard to understand. The lords and ladies were fond of exercising their own wit, of displaying their learning, by putting interpretations upon the wall-hangings, which were meant to serve as conversation pieces as well as decorations. Symbols, allegories, rebuses, obscure allusions—all these lend an esoteric fascination to tapestries.

Originally tapestries were woven without framelike margins—they did not need them, when they were meant as nothing more than surface decoration. It was the panel painters, with a sense of their own style, who introduced frames into tapestries. They were accustomed to enhancing the illusion in their pictures by means of deeply moulded frames; and they were convinced that in tapestry weaving too they could not do without such a clear-cut mounting. Hence, taking into account the stylistic requirements of woven pictures, they devised the border, which began to flourish luxuriantly after 1515—the rather wide woven margin, sharply distinct in form and content from the main picture, with flowers and foliage, fruit, animals, children, inscribed tablets and small, subsidiary scenes having an allegorical

reference to the main presentation. The woven picture ended *in* the border, the panel painting *at* the frame.

Van Orley, originally a panel painter, nevertheless successfully elaborated the borders in his Brussels tapestries in sensitive adaptation to the technology and function of woven wall decoration. While we must assume that among his collaborators was a specialist who devised and designed these diverse borders, it can surely be no accident that it is precisely the tapestries designed by van Orley that appear so splendidly framed. Van Orley himself must have been behind this, forever insisting on borders that should be festive and serene in effect, whether they enclosed scenes of the Passion or of the hunt. We might add that these borders contain the germ of the Flemish still life, which began to unfold so widely in the 17th century.

For technical reasons alone, the art of tapestry implies a degree of aloofness—the themes are softened and veiled, as it were—and it seems to have purified van Orley's taste, elevated his approach, caused him to ignore petty detail. The tapestries he created between 1520 and 1530 may be unequivocally and without the slightest irony described as High Renaissance. They are his only works—indeed, the only Netherlandish works generally that may be so described.

The best of the tapestries woven between 1520 and 1530 in Brussels exhibit van Orley's style more or less clearly. It was not until 1530 that a dangerous rival began to appear, in the person of Pieter Coeck.

To decide in respect of every piece with certainty whether or not van Orley drew the cartoon would be asking too much of stylistic analysis. Many of the sequences are preserved in several sets. The design is translated by the weavers with more fidelity or less. The craftsmen who executed the cartoons may have been skilful or clumsy. In view of these contingencies, we must be prepared to find van Orley's personal style reflected in only coarsened, distorted and watered-down form.

In the following, I list the tapestry sequences and individual pieces that manifestly go back to van Orley's designs (271):

1. *The Lamentation*, Widener collection, Philadelphia (281), from the collection of the Duke of Berwick and Alba (Paris auction of 1877, No. 1). In its main features, the composition agrees with the centre panel of the Haneton triptych, yet not in such a way that one may assume that an imitator or copyist borrowed the design from the altarpiece. Where the tapestry deviates from the painting, van Orley's style is no less plain than in the remaining parts. In the altarpiece, the body of Christ is cut off at the bottom by the frame, while in the tapestry all of it is shown. The border is excessively rich in flowers, fruit and playing children. This relationship between a tapestry and an altarpiece is rarely seen, but not altogether unique. Sold at the Paris auction of 1900, with the Cernuschi collection, was a tapestry (No. 163), another *Lamentation*, with the Cernuschi collection, which coincides with van Orley's panel in the large triptych in the Bruges church of Notre-Dame⁴. In this instance, an imitator may indeed have borrowed the tapestry design from the altarpiece.

4. This altarpiece, presumably done in 1530, is discussed further on.

5. Hauser, *Tapices*, vol. 1, 25-27; Goebel, *Wandteppiche*, part 1, vol. 1. ill. 269.

6. *Tapices*, vol. 1, 28-31, 66.

7. See p. 73, above.

8. Goebel, fig. 135.

9. *Tapices*, 41-46.

10. Luca Beltrami, in *La Battaglia di Pavia* (Milan, 1896), provides good reproductions and a valuable background of military history.

11. Photographs by Giraudon.

12. This sequence was extremely popular in France and was repeatedly copied in the Gobelins factory. A piece related in style and content, although not part of the series, was sold with the Lelong collection in Paris in 1910 (No. 310).

13. Photographs by Giraudon.

2. The three pieces forming the *Dais de l'Empereur Charles Quint*⁵, in all likelihood did not originally belong together. In any event, van Orley can be considered only in connection with the half-length figure of the Almighty, in the clouds with angels. This sequence is said to have been acquired for the emperor as early as 1520.

3. The sequence in Madrid with scenes from the Passion, in square format, is again not uniform⁶. Van Orley's style emerges clearly in the *Agony in the Garden*, the *Christ Carrying the Cross* and the *Last Supper*, but not in the *Crucifixion* nor the *Descent from the Cross*. Now the dukes of Alba possessed replicas of these tapestries of equal merit, although the borders are different. The *Descent* is missing in this series, and the composition of the *Crucifixion* differs from the Madrid version, this time being undoubtedly van Orley's work. (It has now passed from the Dollfus collection in Paris to the P. Morgan collection [291].) A design for it, displaying many differences, is in the Kupferstichkabinett in Stuttgart. The *Agony in the Garden* from the Alba collection has also presumably gone to America, but I do not know to what collection [30]. The *Christ Carrying the Cross* is in the Jacquemart-André museum in Paris (No. 942 in the catalogue), and the *Last Supper* is in the Ph. Lehman collection, New York (Plate 141) [31].

There is virtual certainty that this Passion sequence was executed by Pieter de Pannemaker for the regent Margaret soon after 1520, and that an agreement of 1st September 1520⁷, covering two tapestries, refers to this *Agony in the Garden* and this *Christ Carrying the Cross*. Judging from the style, the *Last Supper* seems to have been done a little later.

The borders of the Madrid series teem with fruit and birds—the kind of framework typical of tapestries created by van Orley. The replicas formerly in the possession of the House of Alba are edged with different motives, drawn from the plant kingdom.

4. *The Adoration of the Kings*, a single tapestry of modest dimensions and fine execution, in the Metropolitan Museum, New York (formerly in the Hainauer collection, Berlin, and the Altman collection, New York)⁸. It is conceived like a panel painting. I do not happen to know of a painting to match this composition, but I should not be surprised to learn that van Orley conceived such a painting around 1520, from which the tapestry design could have been borrowed, as in the case of the *Lamentation*, described under Item 1, above.

5. *The Founding of Rome*, a series of eight tapestries in the Palace at Madrid⁹. They have no connection with the drawings in Munich, which are dated 1524, and they seem to have been done a little later, judging from the style.

6. *The Battle of Pavia*, a series of seven tapestries in the possession of the Marchese del Vatto, on exhibition in the Naples museum¹⁰. The corresponding drawings are in the Louvre¹¹. Van Orley may have tackled this work soon after 1525.

7. The so-called *Hunts of Maximilian*, a series of 12 tapestries in the Louvre¹², where the corresponding drawings are also kept¹³. Each hunting scene represents a different month, the sign of which is seen in the top border. The

well-known Brussels mark is also woven in, indicating the time of origin with some certainty. It became obligatory on 16th May 1528. The sketches may have been done a little earlier, and the year 1525 has been suggested, from the state of certain buildings shown in the tapestries¹⁴.

8. *The Story of Abraham*, a series of ten tapestries in the state collection in Vienna¹⁵. Incomplete series of exact replicas exist in Madrid (seven pieces)¹⁶ and Hampton Court (eight pieces—according to old inventories, the Hampton Court series was once complete, with ten pieces). The borders deviate from the characteristic van Orley framing, showing a wealth of figure motives. The main figures are gentle and venerable giants with great beards.

9. *The Story of Jacob*, a series of ten tapestries in the possession of Count Tiele-Winkler, Moschen, Silesia¹⁷ (132), closely related to the Abraham series. These pieces, acquired from Bologna, can be traced back to Cardinal Lorenzo Campeggi, who was in London between 1523 and 1527, busy with matters relating to the divorce of Henry VIII, in recognition of which he is supposed to have received the Palazzo d'Inghilterra in Rome, and possibly these tapestries to adorn its walls. The Brussels mark is visible, hence they would have been woven after 1528.

10. *The Story of Tobias*, a series of eight pieces, the property of the Austrian State, in Vienna¹⁸. The Brussels mark is shown.

11. A pair of tapestries that obviously belong together, although the scenes shown on them have not been explained. They are of the same height but of different width. They were sold at the Nemes auction in Amsterdam in 1928, Nos. 70 (133) and 71 (134).

12. *The Triumph of Trajan*, a single piece in the possession of Klausner & Sohn, Berlin art dealers¹⁹.

Van Orley took a hand in stained glass, as he did in the art of tapestry. The classic place where windows designed by the court painter gleam—in surprisingly large scale, by the way—is Brussels's main church, St. Gudula. It was the regent Margaret who began to decorate this church with colourful glasswork, beginning with the upper lights of the lofty choir, and very probably she turned to van Orley for this purpose. These windows, with their saints, arms and donors from the House of Hapsburg, are so far away from the eye that incisive stylistic analysis becomes impossible. Judging from the donors represented—Maximilian with Mary of Burgundy, Margaret with her second consort Philibert of Savoy, Philip the Fair and Johanna, Charles V and Ferdinand (Philip II and his queen were later added)—these panes date from the time around 1523. We see here the modest beginnings of a kind of decoration combining ecclesiastic devoutness with dynastic splendour, which was continued and enhanced after Margaret's death. Mary of Hungary carried it on and won over her brother the emperor and her brother-in-law Francis of France to the plan of establishing a grandiose monument in the Brussels church. At two points in it, great windows were provided with rich pictorial decorations in the lifetime of the regent Mary—on both ends of the transept and in the chapel of the Holy Sacrament, which

14. Cf. Goebel, pp. 316, 414.

15. Reproduced in Baldass, *Die Wiener Gobelin-Sammlung*, 1920, vol. 1, 21-30.

16. *Tapices*, vol. 1, 75-81.

17. Good reproductions are found in a publication by J. Lessing, No. 25 in the series, *Vorbilderhefte aus dem Königlichen Kunstgewerbemuseum*, Wasmuth, Berlin, 1900.

18. Reproduced in Baldass, vol. 1, 9-16.

19. Reproduced in Goebel, 377. The design, in reverse and in a poor state of preservation, is in the Berlin Kupferstichkabinett.

was originally built only about this time. The lights of the transept and the chapel show dates that indicate the years when the work was finished. In the transept, the window showing Charles V kneeling with his empress is dated 1537; the opposite window, showing Mary of Hungary with her husband Louis, is dated 1538. In the chapel of the Holy Sacrament, only one window was designed by van Orley, the one dated 1540 and given by the king of France. In style of figures and architecture, it agrees completely with the great transept windows. The stained-glass windows with later dates—1542, 1546 and 1547—are more Classicist in character, especially in respect of the architecture.

The cornerstone of the chapel was laid in 1534, and it was finished in 1539. Van Orley was associated with this building and its adornment—essentially stained-glass work—from 1534 until, quite probably, his death. He received an order to copy the building plans on parchment, and presumably he supervised the entire stained-glass programme. He set the tone that was modified by a successor after his death. The inclusion of painted, lofty and extremely richly organized Renaissance arches in the tall Gothic windows; the perspective illusion of depth in the portals that rise up two storeys; the composition of the inscribed tablets at the base; the donor with saints in the lower storey; the episodes relating to the theft and the miracle of the host in the upper storey—all these are van Orley's work and must go to his credit.

Knowing that the master maintained his position of trust with the new regent, we are in a position to gain a valid picture of the final phase of van Orley's stylistic development from the stained-glass windows in St. Gudula's. Such an analysis, however, cannot properly dwell on details, if only for the reason that craftsmen worked after the master's designs in a manner calculated to water them down and deprive them of their individuality. In addition, we must take into account a certain amount of disfiguring restorative work.

When we stick to what has been, beyond question, preserved of the author's designs, we find a purification of taste in construction and ornament. The master has grown with his tasks. Without relinquishing his specifically Netherlandish and personal manner of architecture and decoration, he has deepened his understanding of Italian forms. The ephemeral elements in the portals, improvised for festive processions, the over rich garlands, the embellishments in the round arches, the small-scale ornamentation, the pierced, metallic arabesque work, the colourful and multifarious architecture—all these are creations of an imagination directed towards ostentatious 'picturesque' abundance, the kind of imagination whose inchoate and immature utterances we saw in van Orley's earlier works, in his panel paintings.

What is true of the architecture is also true of the figures. The saints and donors are placed in the arched fields with freedom, large and well-balanced. In the end the master did manage to learn from the Romans the secrets of *contrapposto*, of giving proper weight and noble attitudes to his figures, as shown especially in the female saint standing behind Isabella of Portugal in the transept window.

In addition to van Orley's drawings serving as designs for tapestries that are known and have been preserved, like the sheets in Paris, the *Crucifixion* in Stuttgart, the *Triumph of Trajan* in Berlin, there are other designs, closely related in style, which we are unable to connect with actual tapestries, such as the signed scenes from Roman History in Munich. In London and in the Dresden Kupferstichkabinett, we find drawings meant for tapestry weaving, judging from the compositions—a *Crowning of the Poet Laureate* in the British Museum, related in draughtsmanship to the Munich sheets dated 1524, and a *Tournament*.

In the Rodrigues collection at Paris, there was a battle scene of similar style. The Dresden Kupferstichkabinett owns two particularly representative drawings van Orley did about 1525—a *Triumph of Death* and a scene from Roman History.

All the master's drawings that have come down to us are designs for compositions or cartoons. Nothing is more significant of his creative approach and method than the total absence of nature studies, of sketches of individual figures or heads.

There are certain designs for stained-glass windows by van Orley that are entirely different from tapestry designs in terms of technique and formal idiom. They are full-size cartoons done in black chalk. Such cartoons are preserved in the Brussels Musée des Arts Décoratifs (1351); and the Berlin Kupferstichkabinett has acquired several.

Van Orley's painting of altarpieces recedes more and more. Court service preoccupied him with commissions that had to be disposed of quickly. What was asked of him was, for the most part, to provide ideas for pictures, guidance, supervision, control of execution. We have become acquainted, through drawings, with the formal idiom he developed about 1530; and there is no dearth of altar panels displaying this very same style, but in such a superficial and impersonal way that we cannot hold the master himself responsible. I have no doubt that he, like Lucas Cranach, ceased to do panel paintings with his own hand—this must have been about 1530—or at least took a hand in output of his workshop only in exceptional cases.

In the Brussels museum, particularly, we find altarpieces and fragments of altarpieces that issued from his workshop after 1525. We encounter there two wings, painted on both sides with scenes from the life of the Virgin, which come from the church of Notre-Dame du Sablon and are dated 1528 by inscription. They were done at the same time as the best tapestries that go back to van Orley's designs; and they show the same types, the same compositional approach, the same gestures. Nevertheless, we find ourselves disappointed and disillusioned. It is as though some flattering veil had dropped away. By 1528, panel painting represented a challenge to which the master was no longer accustomed. The coloration is harsh and unsophisticated, the drapery monotonous and mechanical, the expressions are vacuous.

The situation is quite similar in respect of the six narrow panels with scenes from the legend of St. Catherine, likewise in the Brussels museum and from the Notre-Dame du Sablon church. A little more in the earlier style,

but no less indifferently executed—possibly in the workshop of some imitator—are the two panels from the legend of St. Michael, also in the Brussels museum (Plate 137) [36]. Pictures of this character are explained on the theory that the master created only the basic designs, leaving the brush-work to insensitive hack associates.

Of much greater stature than the well-known Brussels panels is the huge altarpiece in the church of Notre-Dame in Bruges, which projects a more favourable picture of van Orley's art as a painter (88, Plate 86). It was intended for the regent Margaret's favourite object of endowment, the church at Bourg-en-Bresse, and there is an agreement relating to it, dated 16th July 1531. The painter left the triptych unfinished. Long after his death, his descendants sold it in Bruges and it was completed by Marc Geeraerts. In the centre is a *Crucifixion*. At the left are two panels, one above to other, a *Christ Crowned with Thorns* and a *Christ Carrying the Cross*. On the right is a *Christ at the Gates of Hell* and a *Lamentation*. The centre panel is by van Orley in its main outlines, and the *Lamentation* at lower right is entirely his. The *Gates of Hell* at upper right is his not even in design.

The awkward triptych, discordant in style and unfavorably placed, moreover, is usually ignored altogether. Yet when we carefully examine the group of mourners beneath the cross, as well as the *Lamentation* panel, we cannot help but be surprised at the vigour and thoroughness of the execution, the intensity of expression and the way that chiaroscuro has been made to serve the purpose of pathos. The master worked on the altarpiece, destined to grace the tomb of his royal patroness, either while she was still alive, or after she died, and he created a work that was uncommonly spacious by Netherlandish standards. In both respects, he took a close personal interest. He deepened the light contrasts and saw to it that the pigments were luminous. This work is not only better than the altarpieces in the Brussels museum (which we have considered to be no more than run-of-the-mill studio productions)—it is fundamentally different.

One panel on which van Orley worked with the same attention during his late period as on the Bruges altarpiece is the *Ecce Homo* in the museum at Tournai. It is a composition reminiscent of Quentin Massys, with large heads, closely crowded together, eloquent in what their features reveal. The hands are of dramatic expressiveness and the whole work, with its deep chiaroscuro, is finished with the utmost care.

The Character of Bernart van Orley

82

Gossart is an artist who appeals to the connoisseur who likes to immerse himself in a painting, who likes to follow the vagaries of line and the interplay of light and dark, who recognizes and respects form. Any attempt to approach van Orley in the same way is doomed to failure and winds up in an adverse judgment. Whenever and wherever van Orley seems to seek to match his rival, to meet him in direct competition, his weaknesses become manifest—superficiality, a certain flabbiness, even a lack of character. Yet as soon as we cast an overall look at this successful master who, from 1520 to 1540, set the tone of painting in Brussels, as soon as we measure and evaluate his achievement as a whole, the balance begins to tip in his favour.

The sheer volume of his invention is impressive, his wealth of figures, the diversity of their postures, his sense of the totality of a picture, the flow and rhythm of its groups. When he began to devote himself largely to designs, his talent for arrangement, for the decorative element seemed to become unleashed. It looked as though energies pent up in panel painting were suddenly released in a broad stream.

Two authors are often named on engravings—the ‘inventor’ and the ‘engraver’. This distinction and separation became customary about the middle of the 16th century, e.g. in the engravings which Pieter Bruegel created, without transferring them to the printing plate with his own hand. Such duality in production was at odds with traditional mediaeval working methods. In the exercise of sound craftsmanship, the individual job extended from the planning stage to the finishing touch, ensuring uniformity and purity of style. A composition conceived by a master in full control of all the necessary techniques was adapted to the exigencies of the craft from the very outset. Execution was once related to invention as skin is to body. Later on it became no more than a garment that might or might not fit.

When the profession of artist arose and became distinct from that of the craftsman, duality in production became a necessity, if only for the reason that the painter, grown arrogant, aspiring to the status of the intellectual, began to shun and despise slow and painstaking hand work with its meagre financial rewards. Whenever professional life becomes stratified, it always means that at the uppermost social level no physical effort except writing is considered to be of proper dignity. In the case of the painter as an ‘artist’ (rather than a craftsman), this meant that ultimately only drawing was the thing to do, or at best painting that required no greater degree of skill, effort and time than drawing.

The mediaeval master thought, felt and invented at the same rate at which he did his work. But in the course of the 16th century, painters began to be stung by the ambition to show the full scope of their inventiveness; and they were aided and abetted by the eager spirit of the new age, the demands of

humanistically cultivated patrons and the appetite of the people for pictures. This left them with three possibilities. They could paint at a greatly accelerated rate, almost sketching, like Jan van Scorel. They could loosen up traditional techniques or work with assistants. And finally, they could think up designs to be executed by others—engravers, weavers, stained-glass workers.

Van Orley could cite exalted precedent and example in neglecting execution and considering it a subaltern labour distinct from his own achievement. Raphael, of whose work van Orley probably never saw anything except the cartoons for the Sistine tapestries, ended his career as a maker of drawings. Even the cartoons for those tapestries the Roman master had not done with his own hand, leaving their execution to pupils. In the eyes of the Netherlander, nevertheless, they represented the ultimate pinnacle to which the art of Rome could rise. By concentrating his energies on designs, van Orley felt himself a disciple of Raphael; and indeed his contemporaries and the connoisseurs of ensuing generations regarded him as Raphael's Netherlandish successor, as many statements testify. This judgment of his art—which happens to be correct—in turn gave rise to the supposition that van Orley was actually in Rome and studied in Raphael's workshop. Such a Roman sojourn is certainly not out of the question, but there is no proof for it and it would be hard to fit into his life. Nor is it at all necessary to an understanding of his art. We read in a report of the Brussels magistrates on 27th December 1771 that van Orley was twice in Rome and studied painting with Raphael¹. This late testimony, the source of which we do not know, is suspect, for whatever the Netherlander may have learned from Raphael, those things he could have learned only in Raphael's studio in Rome—skill with pigments and brushwork—are precisely the ones he did not learn at all.

Italian art, to the degree that it affected him, was a tangible force in the Netherlands for any master who, by tendency and disposition, kept himself as open and accessible to influences from the South as did van Orley, who was by nature an academic painter. The engravings of Marcantonio—to say nothing of the cartoons for the Sistine tapestries—were widely known in the North. Jacopo de'Barbari had been van Orley's predecessor in the favour of the regent Margaret. Van Orley was the recipient of the Venetian's 'book', of which Dürer had tried to gain possession—in all likelihood it contained studies and data on various proportions. He would have had no difficulty in gaining access to ornamental engravings and drawings by Italian architects.

Van Orley's contemporaries and fellow countrymen did their best work when they were young—or at least that is the way it looks to us. Biassed in that direction, we like to smell out their beginnings. They had their roots in the Netherlandish tradition, and although this allegiance wavered when they went chasing after new ideals, it did lend sharpness and accuracy to their observation, together with a meticulous and solid technique. Jan Gosart and Lucas van Leyden show what can be lost and also what can be doubtfully gained along the road that Netherlandish art traversed between 1510 and 1530.

Van Orley began about the same time as Lucas van Leyden. Lucas created

1. A. Wauters, p. 20.

his first engravings with ingenuous but penetrating vision—later on, when he began to hurry, so to speak, as though anticipating his early death, he forfeited more than he gained. Of this most precious heritage there is little sign in the youthful works of van Orley. Perhaps his teacher—presumably his father, of whom we know nothing—was ill-suited to train him in the virtues of craftsmanship. In any event, in Bernart's earliest paintings to which we have access we see stirring a rather presumptuous sense of haste, impatiently bent upon noisy effect. His youth manifests itself in awkwardness and lack of knowledge. There is no sign of any concentrated effort to gain finesse by observation. He did have a preternatural sense of what direction promised success, of what people were then looking for; and he quickly settled down to a certain bluntness of narrative, to emphasis on the handsome and the sensational. He probably grew aware that he would be unable to compete successfully with Jan Gossart as a painter, in the proper sense of the term, as one who could express individuality effectively. He may also have sensed that the time was drawing to a close when conscientious craftsmanship in painting paid off in money and renown. He had a certain entrepreneurial streak in him, the expression of his matter-of-fact, middle-class efficiency. He became painter to the reigning lady when he was still a young man. In the courtly circles whose favour he sought, tapestries were esteemed more highly than panel painting. Or at least, Brussels tapestry weaving enjoyed a higher reputation than Brussels painting.

Tapestry weaving was no longer an autonomous craft, carefully surrounded by walls which he would have had to batter down. What was wanted was a kind of hybrid art that would combine colourful splendour and sumptuous decoration with the illusion of space and three-dimensional bodies. The panel painter had to be drafted into the service of tapestry, because of his knowledge of form, his powers of observation. Van Orley was highly qualified to stimulate the art of tapestry-making, and at the same time to some degree able to submit to its laws. He had the requisite tact and spontaneity, the nimble imagination, the ease in composition, the sense of occasion, dignity and representation. He was an organizer—he knew how to direct assistants, how to tell them precisely what to do.

His inclination towards the development of types grew reciprocally as he worked in the field of tapestry. Individual features could not be copied without losing something, nor could they be enlarged and translated into terms of fabric without such loss. Much of their value was sacrificed along this long road. The type, on the other hand, the face that was empty and generalized, could traverse it essentially intact. The master's weakness, the uncertainty of his observation of nature, became a virtue, or at least no longer obtruded as a defect. When we compare the centre panel of the Job altarpiece with a tapestry representing a scene of similar turbulence, or when we place the Haneton triptych beside the tapestry containing the same composition, we are astonished to note not only that all the values have been preserved in the fabric, but indeed that certain harshnesses have become softened, tastelessnesses eliminated, dead spots enlivened. Panel painting called

for illusion in a degree beyond van Orley's reach without embarrassment, but in the uncertain lighting of a dazzling, shimmering tapestry, when the viewer is assigned a place at a respectful distance that distracts his eyes from detail to the general—there van Orley cuts a surprisingly good figure. He rises up in noble stature from everything that is mean and cramped and meagre. Certainly the example of Raphael was of help to him—it offered nothing to the painter, but a great deal to the draughtsman. The fact that van Orley was predisposed towards the creation of stereotypes not only made it easier for him to become an entrepreneur, it smoothed his way to the Italian High Renaissance. It was in Raphael's compositions that he found what he needed by way of rules and schemes, of directions definitely fixed by order of magnitude. If we were to derive our judgment solely from a general view of 15th century Netherlandish painting, van Orley would appear a master of small power. In fact, he was better than any of his contemporaries or fellow countrymen in availing himself successfully of Italian formulae. To that extent the naïve and pragmatic assertion that labels him a disciple of Raphael hits the mark.

All the others had to fight inward battles when they came up against Italian forms, but not van Orley! How little Gossart took back with him, even though he was in Italy! With what painful effort did his Netherlandish vision assimilate the foreign motives, and with what absurd results! Unlike Gossart, van Orley never studied ancient statuary. He paid little attention to the way the human body is organized. Nudity was something he saw largely on the surface. He did not imitate the Italians, he simply appropriated the results of their efforts. When he came to know the Italian Renaissance, its forms were already purified, and also emptied of much of their meaning. It is a fact that frozen forms are easier to copy than living ones. Raphael, studying endlessly from life, found and fixed ultimate solutions for such problems as how to represent someone standing with dignity or striding with nobility or kneeling devoutly, how to sit on a throne like a king or fly like a god. Van Orley stuck to this model, not as a slavish copyist, but as a talented disciple; and he thus attained poses, gestures and attitudes that breathe a welcome theatrical note into the festive decorations of tapestry and stained glass.

Van Orley is an entertaining storyteller, a resourceful improviser, never troubled because he may not be sufficiently thorough and profound. Just as his structures remind one of those jerry-built arches erected to welcome visiting royalty, so his figures too seem to be wanting in that final touch of realism that would make them fully plausible. He felt thoroughly at ease with that lower degree of illusion peculiar and appropriate to tapestry and stained glass, as opposed to panel painting. Despite their large scale, the events he depicts appear remote, veiled in a fragrant haze. The beholder is put in a mood to listen to a fairytale—he becomes slightly intoxicated. He simply enjoys the procession, the unmotivated pathos, the rhythmical flow of virile men and buxom ladies and bearded patriarchs, the tumult whose cause is hidden from him but that tickles his fancy all the same. Except for the hunting scenes and the scenes from the Battle of Pavia, where he worked

from data supplied by experts, van Orley is casual in his costumes, which he adorns with questionable ethnographical knowledge.

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Van Orley soon overcame the obtuseness and insouciance of youth and embarked on the pursuit of 'beauty'. As we know from the many replicas, he was eminently successful in creating pleasing images of the Madonna. In inchoate fashion, he seems to have become aware at an early stage that his path led to Raphael. His eyes fastened upon the total picture, the surface to be adorned, and he shaped his female countenances, on whose charm his harmless panels were based, with the utmost smoothness and perfection into a vacuous prettiness, all the while shrewdly dodging anything too large in scale. His whole approach was remote from nature, content with only a few modest grace notes from nature, and thus he was quite prepared to imitate whatever alien art forms offered themselves. His whole approach was governed more by taste and the firm desire to serve his age than by any compelling personal vision. Hence he was able to change, which accounts for the difficulty one encounters in spotting the constant element in his personality.

As a painter, van Orley—judging from his best works—was fond of applying his pigments in impasto. The viscous, opaque colours of his early period grew rather lighter in the middle period. There is always a crudity or two in his drawings, although the main features are always marked with a firm hand. His forms swell like vines, are imprecise, adventitious and in defiance of rules. His ornamentation, indeed, is edgy and prickly—hit-or-miss.

As an entrepreneur, van Orley, seen in historical perspective, established a working method that was to set the destiny of Flemish painting for the ensuing generations. The leading and dominating Antwerp masters of the 16th and 17th centuries excelled for the most part in invention, leaving the execution to their assistants. Their forte was the decorative element, they inclined towards the schematic, the type, the formula-like Pieter Coeck, Frans Floris and Rubens. And all of them steadfastly gazed towards the South.

The van Coninxloo Family of Painters

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Van Orley dominated the art scene in Brussels. Whatever we see of paintings done in his immediate vicinity partakes of his style. There is no dearth of crude or amateurish pictures reflecting his last phase—or, for that matter, any phase—and posing the tricky question whether they were done in his own workshop or by imitators who may have received their training at his hands. Nor must we forget that Bernart was a member of a Brussels family of painters, that his father and several of his brothers were painters. To a degree we can no longer determine, the heritage common to him and his co-evals in Brussels was a local tradition.

There was another family of painters in Brussels, named van Coninxloo, and they seem to have maintained close connections with the van Orleys. In an indictment of 1527, charging a number of painters and tapestry weavers with suspicion of heresy¹, a painter Jan van Coninxloo is described as Bernart's *parent*, indicating that he was kinsman to the van Orleys by blood or marriage. We know of two older members of the van Coninxloo family, of Valentin van Orley's generation. A *Jan de Royaulme yclept Scernier* is mentioned in Tournai in 1483 as a painter and the son of a Brussels painter. Royaulme must be read as the French version of Coninxloo, and the connection is further pinned down by the fact that the name Scernier also occurs in the signature of the Brussels painter Cornelis van Coninxloo².

A Pieter van Coninxloo turns up in Brussels, apparently at the same time as the elder Jan. Our knowledge of him derives from the archivist A. Pinchart³, to whom we also owe our data in respect of the van Coninxloo who worked in Tournai. Pieter is mentioned in 1479 in Brussels as *Peetere van Coninxloo*, and seems to have acquired citizenship there in 1480. He is identical with the *Pierre de Royaulme* who painted coats of arms for the obsequies at the funeral of the Duke of Cleves in 1481. In 1499, he was paid for decorating two carriages with arms, mottoes and initials, on orders from Philip the Fair. In 1506 he was applying painted decorations to military equipment, and in 1510 to the fountain in the great courtyard of the Brussels palace. But the court did not employ him solely to do heraldic decorations. In October 1505, Philip the Fair purchased from him a portrait of the regent-to-be Margaret, to send to the king of England⁴.

Negotiations were pending at the time between London and Brussels, looking towards the marriage of the king of England and Margaret.

Lastly, Pieter painted four portraits for the regent Margaret in 1513, representing Charles V and his sisters.

A. J. Wauters, who published the priceless data Pinchart had left behind, was unable to add anything on his own, except a reference to the portrait of Margaret that is preserved in Hampton Court. It is true that we should look in royal castles on British soil to find the portrait that was dispatched to

1. See p. 51, above.

2. In the only known picture from the brush of this master, No. 108 in the Brussels museum.

3. A. J. Wauters, *Marguerite d'Autriche... et Pierre van Coninxloo*, *Bulletin des Musées du Cinquantenaire*, 13^e année, Nos. 1-2, Brussels, 1914, pp. 4-11.

4. A *Pierre de Coninxloo*, peintre demourant à Bruxelles, la somme de XII livres, pour un tableau fait à la pourtraicture de Madame de Savoye, que le roi a fait prendre et acheter de lui, icellui envoyé par Thoisson d'or, au roy d'Angleterre.

Henry VII; but it cannot be the one in Hampton Court, which belongs to the group of portraits of the regent Margaret that go back to van Orley and were done about 1520. The portrait of the 25 year old princess Pieter van Coninxloo painted in 1505 presumably looked quite different from her well-known portraits⁵.

5. Cf. Catalogue B, No. 151.

Pieter van Coninxloo seems to have been a predecessor of van Orley in his relationship with the Brussels court. Perhaps he died soon after 1513, perhaps he was displaced from court favour by Jan Gossart and van Orley. He must have been about 60 years old around 1513.

By dint of a rather hazardous hypothesis, this van Coninxloo might be identified as the Master of the Magdalene Legend. This uncommonly productive and competent painter who, in the time from 1490 to 1515, with soulless routine, created a large number of portraits of royal and other high-born personages was particularly good at heraldic and sartorial documentation; and he was quite evidently the kind of man to gratify the desires of the court in a correct and businesslike way, always delivering his work on time. Nevertheless, if Pieter van Coninxloo is identical with the Master of the Magdalene Legend, he must have grown to an old age; for in my opinion he painted a portrait of the regent Mary of Hungary (37), and he could have scarcely done this before 1530 (38).

We have, in the Brussels museum, a panel representing the *Parents of the Virgin* (Plate 28) by a Cornelis Coninxloo (39). It is dated 1526 and signed *Cornilis 1401 va Conixlo Scernir*. The painter shows himself rather old-fashioned here. The late Gothic throne on which Joachim and Anne sit side by side is shown in about the fashion in which Jan Gossart built such structures two decades earlier.

A Jan van Coninxloo, hardly identical with the painter of that name mentioned in 1483 in Tournai, but probably so with van Orley's *parent* named in 1527, is known to us a productive painter, rather lacking in originality, whose work we can follow from 1514 to about 1546.

In Jäder, Södermanland, Sweden, there is a large altarpiece, imported from the Netherlands, with carved work in the centre compartment (Plates 129-130). The painted shutters are inscribed *Jan van Conixlo brussel*⁶. Roosval assures us that altarpieces in Vesteras and Vadstena display the same style. The Jäder altarpiece is dated 1514.

6. Roosval, *Schnitzaltäre in schwedischen Kirchen*, Heitz, Strasbourg, 1903, p. 38.

One of the best Brussels altarpieces has been returned to the town where it was created and now stands there in the municipal museum (Plate 131) (42). It was made for the Italian family Penso di Mondari, and I think the painted shutters were painted by Jan van Coninxloo around 1515⁷.

7. Destrée, *Tapisseries et Sculptures*, p. 66, Pls. 31, 42.

In the museum at Rouen, two panels are preserved⁸—a *Presentation* and a *Christ Taking Leave of His Mother* (Plate 133), one of which is signed with Jan's name (43). Different in style from the shutters of the carved altarpieces, they may have been done around 1520. Again different in style—soft and anaemic—are four paintings in the Brussels museum signed with Jan's name and dated 1530 and 1546 (Plates 132-134) (44)⁹. However many transformations this painter undergoes, he always remains van Orley's fellow traveller.

8. Nos. 110 and 111, each about 60 x 80.

9. Nos. 109, 110a, 110b, 880.

Ordinarily, it was the less talented painters who were employed to decorate carved altarpieces. This observation is confirmed in the altarpieces exported from Antwerp as well. Probably this type of work was ill-paid. If a master of van Orley's reputation and position exceptionally took on such a commission—and we know of no instance in which he was ready to do so—it could at best have been only to provide the basic design, leaving the execution to assistants.

The best painting of Brussels origin associated with a carved altarpiece is found in the one at Güstrow (Plate 135), which was installed in 1522¹⁰. Not without reason, it has been considered van Orley's work. For my part, I believe I can discern another painter who executed the work. This painter of Güstrow probably worked in van Orley's workshop for some time and in any event received his training there about 1520. He also painted the altarpiece with a *Crucifixion* that was originally in Mechlin and is now displayed in Schleissheim¹¹ (Plate 136), as well the *St. Catherine* formerly in the Holtscher collection¹² (Plate 137).

10. Schlie, *Das Altarwerk der beiden Meister Borman und van Orley... zu Güstrow*, 1883.

11. No. 127 (165 × 145).

12. No. 15 in the catalogue of this collection (35 × 27).

The Catalogues

CATALOGUE A: THE PAINTINGS OF JAN GOSSART, ARRANGED BY THEMES. ALTARPIECES WITH SHUTTERS, WORKS IN SEVERAL PARTS AND SHUTTER PAIRS ARE ENUMERATED FIRST, FOLLOWED BY INDIVIDUAL DEVOTIONAL PANELS, COMPOSITIONS DEALING WITH MYTHOLOGY AND, LASTLY, PORTRAITS

1. (Plates 1, 2, 3) *Altarpiece with Shutters, The Holy Family, with Angels*: on the shutters, *Sts. Catherine and Barbara*. Lisbon museum (49×31—11, curved at the top). Reproduced as *Herri Met de Bles* (Arundel Club III, 1906). About 1505. See p. 22, above. • Inv. No. 1479; 50×31.5—47.5×12.5 cm [45].

2. (Plates 4, 5, 6, 7) *Altarpiece with Shutters, Virgin and Child, with Angels*: on the shutters, *Sts. Catherine and Barbara* [45a]; verso, *Adam and Eve*. Museo Nazionale, Palermo, acquired about 1600 in Messina from the estate of Prince Malvagna. Probably about 1511. Adam and Eve are clearly a free rendering after Dürer's woodcut in the *Small Passion*, published in 1511. See pp. 17 f., above. • 45.5×35—45×17.5 cm. Arched top. A moulding at the bottom of the Virgin's throne includes fragments of a signature: (J)ENNIN ... GOS(SART).

a. (Plate 7) Collection of Freiherr v. Hövel, Gnadenthal (33×23.5). Copy of the central panel. • In the style of Bernart van Orley. • Sold at Parke-Bernet, New York, on 19th–20th January 1940, No. 217. Present location unknown.

b. (Plate 7) Art market, London (Colnaghi, 1930). From the collection of Lord Northbrook (34×24). A good free copy of the central panel. • An original work by Gossart, a free replica by his own hand (cf. vol. XI, p. 75) [46]. • Present location unknown.

c. v. Pannwitz collection, De Hartekamp (38×48, the whole work). An altarpiece with shutters by Adriaen Isenbrant. The middle piece is a free copy, but Isenbrant also copied separately the Adam-and-Eve group. • Present location unknown [47].

d. Collection of Baron E. de Rothschild, Paris. A copy of the central panel by Isenbrant. • Present location unknown [48].

3. (Plates 8, 9) *Diptych, Virgin in a Church, St. Anthony with a Donor*. Palazzo Doria, Rome (41×24 each). The panel with the donor was shown at Bruges in 1902, No. 160. The Virgin is after the painting by Jan van Eyck in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin. This diptych was described about 1520 by the Anonimo Morelliano [49] as being in the Palazzo Vendramin, Venice, the donor being here identified as Messer Antonio Siciliano, whose armorial

bearing, the same as in the panel of the donors, is also found in the Codex Grimani. About 1508, see pp. 18f., above. • 41×22.8 — 40.4×22.2 cm [50].

4. (Plates 10, 11) *Diptych, Jean Carondelet, Virgin and Child*. Louvre, Paris, Nos. 1997, 1998 (43×27 each, rounded at the top). Signed on the Virgin panel: *Johannes Melbodie pingebat*; on the portrait panel: *Fait l'an 1517*. On the verso of the portrait, Carondelet's armorial bearing and motto, *Matura*; on the verso of the other panel, a skull in a niche [51]. See pp. 35, 38, above. • Inv. Nos. INV. 1442, INV. 1443.

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5. (Plates 12, 13) *Diptych, Jean Carondelet* (R. v. Gutmann collection, Vienna), *St. Donatian* (Archaeological Museum, Tournai—both panels 43×45). Verso: the arms of Carondelet. Shown in Bruges in 1902, No. 370. About 1520. See p. 38, above. • *Carondelet*, now in the Nelson Gallery-Atkins Museum, Kansas City (Mo.), Inv. No. 63-17.

6. (Plate 14) *A Pair of Altarpiece Shutters with the Portraits of a Husband and His Wife*. Museum, Brussels (66×22 each). Acquired in 1928 from private hands in Britain, No. 93 at a Christie auction, 8th June 1928. • Inv. No. 4740; 70×23.5 cm [52].

7. (Plates 15, 17) *A Pair of Altarpiece Shutters, St. John the Baptist, St. Peter*. The Hague, from the collection of King William of the Netherlands, Nos. 36, 37 [53] in the auction of 1850 (120×47 each). Signed 1521. These two panels have dropped out of sight. • Now in the Toledo Museum of Art, Toledo (Ohio), Acc. Nos. 52.85B - 52.85A [54].

8. (Plate 19) *Adam and Eve*. Baron Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection, Rohoncz (Castle in the Burgenland), (56.5×37 , rounded at the top). From the Götisches Haus, Würzburg. About 1509. See pp. 24 f., above. • Now in the Thyssen-Bornemisza Art Collection, Lugano-Castagnola, Cat. No. 155.

9. (Plate 18) *Adam and Eve*. Hampton Court, No. 385 (165×109). Attributed to *Maubugius* in the catalogue of the paintings owned by King Charles I. See p. 34, above.

a. (Plate 18) Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin, No. 642 (190×108). An old copy. • Now in the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (Bode-Museum), Berlin (East).

b. (Plate 18) Brussels museum, No. 193 (171×117). An old copy. • Inv. No. 2383; 170×114.5 cm.

10. (Plate 19) *Adam and Eve*. Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin, No. 661 (170×114). See p. 34, above. • Now in the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, (Bode-Museum), Berlin (East).

11. (Plate 19) *Adam and Eve*. Stadtschloss, Berlin (78×64.5). • Now in the Schloss im Grunewald near Berlin. • 78×62.7 cm [55].

12. (Plate 20) *The Adoration of the Magi*. National Gallery, London (177×161). Acquired in 1911 from the Counts of Carlisle. Signed: JENNI × GOS-SART × OG MABVS . . . JENNINE GOS 1561. About 1512. See p. 16, above.

a. Art market, Berlin (1926). From the Germanisches Museum, Nuremberg (119×87). A copy, dated 1601. • Now on loan to the Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Munich, from the Wittelsbacher Ausgleichfonds, Munich, Inv. No. WAF 163.

b. Collection of Sir Ch. Turner, auctioned by Lepke, Berlin, 1908, No. 30 (80×74, on copper). A 17th century copy. • Present location unknown.

13. (Plate 21) *The Agony in the Garden* (57). Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin, No. 551A (85×63). About 1512. See p. 25, above. • Now in the Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen, Berlin-Dahlem.

14. *The Mocking of Christ*. This composition was copied with unusual frequency in Gossart's workshop and elsewhere. The original is unknown. See p. 31, above.

a. (Plate 22) Collection of Count Schall-Riaucour, Gaussig castle, Saxony (23×18). Signed: *Joannes Malbodius Pingebat 1527*. Reproduced in Weiss, Pl. x. • Present location unknown.

b. (Plate 22) Antwerp museum, No. 181 (24×19). Signed: *J . . . M . . . Invenit*. A copy by the Master of the Female Half-Lengths 1581.

c. (Plate 22) Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin, No. 1388 (104×74, reserve). A mediocre copy, reversed 1591. • Now in the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (Bode-Museum), Berlin (East).

d. W. Schmitz collection, Cologne, formerly in the Weyer and Clavé collections (24×18.5). Signed: *J . . . M . . . Invenit 1527*. An old copy. • Present location unknown.

e. (Plate 22) Dresden museum, No. 805A (56×41.5, on limewood).

f. (Plate 22) Ghent museum, No. 82 (23.5×17.5). Signed: *J . . . M . . . Invenit*.

g. (Plate 22) Karlsruhe museum, No. 150 (24×19). Signed: *J . . . M . . . Pingebat 1527*. • 25.2 × 18.2 cm.

h. Lisbon, auction of Count de Castello-Melhor (24×18). Signed: *J . . . M . . . Invenit 1527*. • Present location unknown.

i. Art market, London (Sackville Gallery, 1908—22.5×17). Signed: *J . . . M . . . Invenit*. • Present location unknown.

k. (Plate 22) Historical Society, New York, No. D. 40. Signed: *J . . . M . . .* • 96.5 × 68.6 cm.

l. Bechstein collection, Berlin. A copy by the Master of the Female Half-Lengths 1601. • Present location unknown; 24 × 19 cm.

m. Hermitage, Leningrad (Lepke auction, Berlin, 1928). Unsigned. • Present location unknown.

This list does not by any means exhaust the number of copies that have been preserved.

15. (Plate 23) *The Crucifixion*. Kunsthalle, Hamburg, No. 377 (110×78). This

panel, the authenticity of which is doubtful, originally had a curved termination at the top.

16. (Plate 23) *The Crucifixion*. Last seen in the Stillwell collection, New York, present whereabouts unknown (30×24). A pendant to the *Deposition* once in the Traumann collection, Madrid (17, Plate 23). Original? • Present location unknown.

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17. (Plate 23) *The Deposition*. Last known to be in the R. Traumann collection, Madrid, present whereabouts unknown. Original? • Present location unknown.

18. (Plates 15, 16) *The Deposition*. Hermitage, Leningrad, No. 474 (140×70). From the collection of King William of the Netherlands, No. 46 in the auction of 1850, when it was attributed to Lucas van Leyden [61]. It was later erroneously attributed to Bernart van Orley. Probably the same picture van Mander saw at the home of den Heer Magnus in Middelburg. See p. 28, above. • 141×106.5 cm. Transferred to canvas [62].

19. (Plate 24) *Christ with the Virgin and St. John the Baptist*. Prado, Madrid, No. 1351a (122×133). A free rendering after the figures in the top row of the Ghent Altarpiece. See pp. 30 f., above. • Cat. No. 1510. Painted on parchment or vellum stretched over panel.

a. Descalzas Reales, Madrid. A free copy.

20. (Plate 25) *The Man of Sorrows*. Colegio del Patriarca, Valencia (90×50, rounded at the top). See p. 31, above.

21. (Plate 25) *St. George*. Historical Society, New York (Bryan collection), B199 (42×32). Reproduced in the catalogue of the collection. About 1507. See p. 23, above. • Acc. No. 299.

22. (Plate 26) *St. Jerome*. Present whereabouts unknown. Painted around 1512, apparently in grisaille. Known to me only from an old photographic reproduction. • Now in the National Gallery of Art, Washington (D.C.), Samuel H. Kress Foundation, 1949, Inv. No. NGA 1119; 86.4×25.4 cm each [63].

23. (Plate 27) *St. Luke Painting the Virgin*. Staatliche Galerie, Vienna, No. 754 (115×82). From the collection of Archduke Leopold William. See p. 30, above. • 109.2×82 cm [64].

24. (Plate 28) *St. Luke Painting the Virgin*. Rudolfinum, Prague, No. 230 (230×205), the so-called Prague Cathedral Picture. Signed: ··· GOSSA ··· From the church of St. Romuald, Mechlin. The date is not certain, but is traditionally given as 1515. See p. 29, above. The shutters are by Michiel

van Coxie [65] and bear his signature. • Now in the National Gallery, Prague, Inv. No. o-8765.

25. (Plate 29) *The Magdalene*, in half-length. National Gallery, London, No. 2163 (22 × 14.5, rounded at the top). About 1515 [66]. • 22 × 14.5 cm; with the original regilt frame: 29 × 22 cm.

26. (Plate 29) *The Magdalene*, in half-length. Mayer van den Bergh Museum, Antwerp, No. 42 (51 × 39, rounded at the top). • 51.5 × 39.8 cm [67].

27. (Plate 29) *Virgin and Child*. Pinakothek, Munich, No. 155 (30 × 24, rounded at the top). Signed: *Joannes Malbodius pingebat 1527*. Original? [68]. An engraving from this painting was made by Crispin de Passe. • Inv. No. WAF 306.

a. (Plate 29) Staatliche Galerie, Vienna, No. 755 (30 × 25). A replica of approximately equal merit, without a signature. • Inv. No. 942.

28. (Plate 30) *The Virgin Enthroned*. R.H. Booth collection, Detroit (35 × 25). Apparently the original, although unsigned. The panel bears a spurious Dürer monogram and the Gossart signature may have been removed in the process. See p. 37, above. • Now in a private collection.

a. (Plate 30) Art market, Paris (Mori). A mediocre copy, with signature. • Present location unknown; 34 × 25 cm.

b. (Plate 30) Art market, Paris [69]. A signed copy, dated 1532. • Present location unknown; 26 × 22 cm.

29. (Plate 31) *Virgin and Child*, in half-length. Art market, Amsterdam (Goudstikker, 25 × 19). From the v. Hollitscher collection, Berlin, and the Castiglioni collection, Vienna. See my note in *Der Cicerone*, Vol. IX, 1917, p. 121. • Now in the Mauritshuis, The Hague, Cat. No. 830 [70].

30. (Plate 31) *Virgin and Child*, in half-length. Huck collection, Berlin (38 × 26). From the v. Kaufmann and Ed. Simon collections, Berlin. • Sold at Cassirer, Berlin, on 10th October 1929. Present location unknown.

31. (Plate 31) *Virgin and Child*, in half-length. Art market, Munich (Caspari, 1929, 27 × 20). • Later in the Mrs. L. van Pannewitz collection [71]. Present location unknown.

32. (Plate 31) *Virgin and Child*, in half-length, with a landscape in the background. Art market, Paris (Wildenstein, 1929, 48 × 37). From private hands in Madrid. Signed: *J... M... 1531*. See p. 36, above. • Sold at Sotheby, Parke-Bernet, New York, on 17th-18th May 1972, No. 73; 52.7 × 41.3 cm; 46.6 × 36 cm (Virgin and Child panel only).

33. (Plate 32) *Virgin and Child*, in half-length. M. Wassermann collection,

Paris (53×39). Reproduced in Segard, *Jean Gossart* (Paris, 1924). • Now in the Chicago Art Institute, Chicago, Charles H. and Mary F. S. collection, Worcester, Inv. No. 57.47; 53.5×40.4 cm.

34. (Plate 34) *Virgin and Child*, in half-length. Landesmuseum, Münster, No. 159 (38.5×30). From the Dominican church in Dortmund. Signed: *Joannes Malbodius Pingebat*.

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35. (Plate 33) *Virgin and Child*, in half-length. Prado, Madrid, No. 1865 (63×50). See p. 36, above. • Cat. No. 1930.

a. (Plate 33) Johnson Collection, Philadelphia (Catalogue II, No. 390, 54×40). A copy by an imitator.

b. (Plate 33) Germanisches Museum, Nuremberg (94×67.5). A free copy by Hans Baldung Grien. Signed by him and dated 1530. • Inv. No. GM 68.

36. (Plate 34) *Virgin and Child*, in half-length. Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin, No. 650 (46×37). • Now in the Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen, Berlin-Dahlem.

a. Heilbronn auction, Berlin, 24th October 1912. A copy. • Present location unknown.

b. (Plate 34) Sassari, Sardinia. A free copy (according to Weiss). • Now in the Pinacoteca Comunale di Sassari (721).

37. (Plate 35) *Virgin and Child*, in half-length. Art market, Paris (Trotti, 1907, 77×52). The Virgin is wholly in Gossart's style, but the composition is otherwise unknown. The ornamentation of the framing arch is executed rather crudely, possibly by an assistant. • Now in the Museu Calouste Gulbenkian, Lisbon; 78×54 cm.

38. *Virgin and Child*, in half-length, the so-called *Madonna with the Entangled Child*. There is a great abundance of mediocre copies of this composition, one of which is signed and dated 1531.

a. (Plate 36) Private ownership, Stuttgart. This is the signed and dated copy. • Present location unknown; 85×69 cm. IOANNES MALBODIVS PINGEBAT, 1531.

b. (Plate 36) Gotisches Haus, Wörlitz (62×45.5). • Now in the Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Dessau.

c. Schwerin Museum, No. 423 (66×51). • Inv. No. G 197; 67×50.5 cm.

d. Church of St. Victor, Xanten, in the high altar (59×46).

39. *Virgin and Child*, in half-length, the so-called *Madonna and Child with the Parted Hair*. There are good replicas of this composition, of virtually equal merit. No specimen can be acknowledged with certainty to be the original. The best replicas are listed below as a, e and g. This is probably the Madonna which Gossart, according to van Mander, painted after the spouse of Adolf of Burgundy. See p. 35, above.

- a. (Plate 37) Metropolitan Museum, New York, No. M 1-1 (44×34). From the R. Kann collection, Paris, and the P. Morgan collection, New York. • Inv. No. 17.190.17; 45.1×34.7 cm.
 - b. (Plate 37) Brussels museum, No. 192 (45×34). • Inv. No. 3377; 43.7×31 cm.
 - c. (Plate 37) Dresden museum, No. 805 (43.5×33).
 - d. Convent of St. Amalia, Dessau, No. 527 (54×41).
 - e. Collection of the Earl of Radnor, Longford Castle.
 - f. Collection of Lady Ludlow, London. • Present location unknown.
 - g. (Plate 37) Collection of Viscount Lee of Fareham, Richmond (42×32). • Now in the Courtauld Institute of Arts, London, Lee collection.
 - h. (Plate 37) K. Kocherthaler collection, Madrid. • Present location unknown.
40. (Plate 36) *Virgin and Child*, in half-length. Art market, Brussels (1927). • 99×63 cm. Present location unknown.
- a. (Plate 36) Private ownership, Rome. A replica of approximately equal merit, acquired from private hands in Russia. • Now in a private collection, Vienna; 66×44.5 cm.
41. (Plate 38) *Virgin and Child*, in half-length, with a donor. Copenhagen gallery (27×22). Authenticity doubtful. • Inv. No. 1859.
42. (Plate 38) *The Holy Family*. Art market, Berlin (Dr. Benedict, 1929, 51.5×37). The theme of the infant sleeping at his mother's breast appears similarly in a number of works of the school of Massys. • Now in the Houston Museum of Fine Arts, Houston (Texas), Inv. No. 59-27.
- a. H. Moll auction, Lepke, Berlin, 1917, No. 86 (49×36). A copy. • Present location unknown.
43. (Plate 38) *The Holy Family*. Art market, Amsterdam (Goudstikker, 27×21). From the v. Back collection, Szegedin. With shutters carrying the arms of Charles V or Philip II and his Portuguese spouse 1731. See p. 36, above. • Now in the City Art Museum of St. Louis, St. Louis (Mo.), Inv. No. 1-94:47; 34.5×21.3—34.5×11.5 cm. Inscribed at bottom of left shutter: BAS ET ROIDE.
44. (Plate 39) *Venus and Cupid*. A. Schloss collection, Paris (32×24, rounded at the top). Original frame with Latin inscription and the date 1521. The figures are free renderings after two engravings by Marcantonio (B 297, 311). • Now in the Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique, Brussels, Inv. No. 6611; 36×23.5 cm (painted surface). The inner frame (41.5×30.7 cm) is integral with the painted surface.
45. (Plate 40) *Vanitas*, standing 1741. Rovigo museum. • Accademia dei Concordi, Inv. No. 79; 59×29.9 cm.

46. (Plate 40) *Mars, Venus and Cupid*. De Fursac auction, Brussels, 1923, No. 87 (45×45.5). Formerly in the Ch. Butler collection, London and on the Paris art market (Sedelmeyer, Dr. Mersch). An old copy. • Present location unknown; 53×45.5 cm.

47. (Plate 41) *Neptune and Amphitrite*. Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin, No. 648 (188×124). Signed: *Joannes · Malbodius · Pingebat · 1516*; and carrying the motto: *A · plus sera · phe bourgne*. See p. 32, above. • Now in the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (Bode-Museum), Berlin (East), Inv. No. 1/727.

48. (Plate 42) *Danae Receiving the Golden Rain*. Pinakothek, Munich, No. 156 (113×95). Signed: *Joannes Malbodius-Pingebat-1527*. • Inv. No. 38.

a. Art market, Paris (Neumans, 1926, 113×91). A fine old copy. • Present location unknown.

49. (Plate 40) *Hercules Struggling with Antaeus*. Coray Stoop collection, Zurich (Wertheim auction, Berlin, 1930, 45×35.5). Shown at Bruges in 1902, No. 225. Signed: *Joannes Malbodius Pinxit 1523*. An old copy. • Now in the Vincenz Maggioni Ackermann collection, Emmenbrücke, Switzerland.

50. (Plate 43) *Hercules and Deianeira* [74a]. Collection of Sir Herbert Cook, Richmond. No. 468 in the publication devoted to this collection (35×26). Dated 1517. There is an engraving with a similar composition, catalogued as by Hans Baldung Grien (Passavent, III, p. 320). See p. 33, above. • Now in the Barber Institute of Fine Arts, Birmingham; 36.5×26 cm. Inscribed: *HERCVLES DYANIRA*.

51. (Plate 45) *Portrait of Jean Carondelet*. Leopold Hirsch collection, London (39.5×29). From the Crews collection, London. Carondelet, born in 1469, looks younger here than in any of the other portraits of him that are known. Presumably painted in 1514—at least, a free copy in the Besançon museum bears that date (Plate 45). See p. 38, above. • Now in the museum at Toledo, Ohio. • Inv. No. 35.58.

52. (Plate 44) *Portrait of a Young Man*, bearing the inscription *DUX-SAX*. Ernst Rosenfeld collection, New York (53×44). From the collection of Baron A. Rothschild, London. Contrary to the inscription, the sitter cannot have been a prince of Saxony, since only Albrecht of Saxony and George the Bearded were invested with the Order of the Golden Fleece and neither is a possibility. The painting may represent Henry III of Nassau (1483-1538), whose portrait in the Arras Codex (Giraudon, No. 390) bears a slight resemblance to it. • Now in the Mr. and Mrs. Charles V. Hickox collection, New York.

53. (Plate 45) *Portrait of a Gentleman*. Percy Macquoid collection, London (46×27.5). Shown at Bruges in 1902, No. 161. The sitter appears to have

been the same one as in the Amsterdam portrait (No. 54), presumably Floris van Egmond, whose initials appear on the hat in the Rijksmuseum portrait. Born in 1469 and died in 1539, Floris is the only Knight of the Golden Fleece whom the initials fit. Yet since the initials B-B [751] are visible in the London portrait, it would, after all, seem to represent a sitter other than the one in Amsterdam. The authenticity of this panel is doubtful. • Present location unknown.

54. (Plate 45) *Portrait of Floris van Egmond*. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, No. 1498 (39 × 29.5). The sitter was once wrongly identified as Philip of Burgundy. • On loan since 1948 to the Mauritshuis, The Hague, Cat. No. 841.

55. *Portrait of a Knight of the Golden Fleece*, Mexico museum. The sitter may have been Henry of Nassau. Authenticity doubtful.

56. (Plate 46) *Portrait of a Gentleman*. Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin, No. 586a (54 × 39). The scabbard of the dagger carries the motto: *Autre que vous* . . . [761]. An inscription on the verso gives the name Baudoin of Burgundy. From a drawing in the Arras Codex (Giraudon, No. 374) bearing a certain resemblance to this portrait, Weiss concludes that the sitter was Charles of Burgundy, son of Baudoin. He may have been another son who bore his father's Christian name [771]. • Now in the Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen, Berlin-Dahlem; 56 × 42.5 cm.

57. (Plate 47) *Portrait of a Gentleman*. Art market, New York (Knoedler, 1928, 63 × 47). From the Sir G. Holford collection, auctioned in London in 1928. Wrongly identified as David of Burgundy, who died in 1496. The painting can scarcely have been done before 1520. • Now in the Sterling and Francine Clark Institute, Williamstown (Mass.), Inv. No. 941; 63.5 × 47.6 cm. The rounded top has been restored.

58. (Plate 47) *Portrait of a Gentleman*. A. Sachs collection, New York (according to W. Valentiner). • Now in the Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge (Mass.), Inv. No. 1966.7; 44.9 × 31.7 cm.

59. (Plate 47) *Portrait of a Gentleman*. Antwerp museum, No. 362 (van Ertborn collection, 64 × 46.5, rounded at the top). The arms of Frank van Borselen, last husband of Jacobaea of Bavaria have been subsequently added. In 1769 C. van Noorde made an engraving from this work and its pendant, supposedly a portrait of Jacobaea (No. 264 in the Antwerp museum). This is not Gossart's work, nor was it originally the pendant to the male portrait. • Cat. No. 263; 61 × 46 cm. Also engraved by Jacob Folkema in 1753.

60. (Plate 47) *Portrait of a Gentleman*, H. H. Lehman collection, New York (63 × 50, transferred to canvas). Verso: *Lucretia* [781]. See A. van Put, *The Man with the Beautiful Hands by Jan Gossart*, with unconvincing evidence that the

sitter was a certain Count Ortenburg. • Now in a private collection. Inscriptions: AET. 35.; on the shield: *A qui par trop embrace en vain son bras las*; F (twice). Verso: 1534 [791].

61. (Plate 48) *Portrait of a Young Man*. Collection of Sir Herbert Cook, Richmond, No. 469 in the publication devoted to this collection (38 × 28). About 1512. See p. 25, above. • Now in the van Beuningen collection, Rotterdam.

62. (Plate 49) *Portrait of a Bearded Man* (80). F. B. Pratt collection, New York (43 × 31). • Now in the Currier Gallery of Art, Manchester, New Hampshire.

63. (Plate 49) *Portrait of a Man with a Scroll*. M. Friedsam collection, New York (46.5 × 53). From the v. Kaufmann collection, Berlin. Signed: *Joanes Malbodius Pingebat*. • Now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Michael Friedsam collection, Inv. No. 32.100.62; 47 × 34.9 cm. The full inscription reads: (*pm?*) *rpse/ Joannes, m/ malbodius/ pingeba . . . dnz/ oty*. On the man's hat pin: *IM*.

64. (Plate 49) *Portrait of a Mature Man*. A. Volz collection, The Hague. From the collection of Baron Liphart. About 1512. See pp. 25 f., above. • Now in the Mauritshuis, The Hague, Cat. No. 832; 34 × 24 cm (811).

65. (Plate 50) *Portrait of a Gentleman*. Staatliche Galerie, Vienna, No. 642 (40 × 30). • Inv. No. 837; 40 × 27.5 cm. The upper corners added.

66. (Plate 51) *Portrait of a Young Man*. Brussels museum, No. 924 (35 × 25). Acquired in 1921. Previously in the Busch collection, Mainz (821). • Inv. No. 4392.

67. (Plate 52) *Portrait of a Young Man*. J. H. Haass collection, Detroit (16.5 × 13). About 1512. See p. 26, above. • Erroneously attributed to Gossart. Hulin de Loo and W. Valentiner have, independently of each other, given this portrait to Master Michiel, correctly, as I now believe. • Now in the Institute of Arts, Detroit (Mich.), Acc. No. 53.383.

68. (Plate 52) *Portrait of a Gentleman*. Kassel gallery, No. 23 (48 × 33). The panel carries the motto: *Tu Mihi Causa Doloris*. • 28.2 × 23 cm.

a. (Plate 52) Art market, London (27 × 21). A faithful replica. • On the Art Market between 1948–51. Present location unknown (831).

b. (Plate 52) Art market, New York (30 × 23). A free replica. • Present location unknown.

The picture at Kassel may be an old copy.

69. (Plate 53) *Portrait of a Gentleman*. Copenhagen gallery, No. 349 (41 × 30). About 1512. See p. 26, above. • Inv. No. 184; 41.5 × 31.5 cm.

70. (Plate 54) *Portrait of a Gentleman* 1851. National Gallery, London (23 × 16). From the collection of King Charles I, whose mark appears on the verso. • 24.5 × 16.5 cm.

71. (Plate 55) *Portrait of a Man with a Rosary*. National Gallery, London, No. 656 (68 × 48). • 68.5 × 49 cm.

72. (Plate 58) *Portrait of a Benedictine Monk* 1861. Louvre, Paris, No. 1999 (39 × 28). Signed: *Joanne Malbod Pinge—Etatis 40—1526*. • Inv. No. R. F. 23.

73. (Plate 56) *Portrait of a Merchant*. Johnson Collection, Philadelphia (63 × 46.5). Shown at Bruges in 1902, No. 242. From the J. Porges collection, Paris. Attributed to *Marinus* in Bruges, the picture may well be by Gossart 1871. • Inv. No. 2051; 64.1 × 47.3 cm.

74. (Plate 61) *Portrait of Eleonore of Austria* (?). August Berg collection, Portland, Oregon (38 × 30). Possibly one of the paintings Gossart is known to have done for Charles V in 1517. This portrait, from private hands in Italy, may depict one of Eleonore's sisters. Shown by Kleinberger in New York in 1929, No. 84, reproduced in the catalogue. • Present location unknown.

75. (Plate 59) *Portrait of Jacqueline of Burgundy* 1881. National Gallery, London, No. 2211 (37 × 28). Jacqueline was the daughter of Adolf of Burgundy, but the identification is not certain. From the Gauchez collection, auctioned in Paris in 1907, No. 29.

76. (Plate 60) *Portrait of Anna de Berghes*, wife of Adolf of Burgundy. H. H. Lehman collection, New York (54 × 41). From the collection of Earl Brownlow, auctioned in London in 1923, No. 77. The drawing in the Arras Codex (Plate 60, Giraudon, No. 373) was made from this painting. See p. 39, above. • Now in a private collection.

a. (Plate 60) Gardner collection, Boston. A replica of approximately equal merit. From the Bonomi-Cereda collection, Milano. • Now in the Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, Boston, Inv. No. P 21513; 53 × 45 cm.

77. (Plate 61) *Portrait of a Woman*. Ch. W. Goodyear collection, Buffalo (41 × 29.5). From the collection of Lord Taunton. • Now in the Mrs. Wetzlar collection, Amsterdam.

78. (Plate 61) *Portrait of a Woman*. Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin, No. 1202 (35 × 33). This panel was cropped at the bottom, for the hands were once included, as is shown in the engraving made by Gottfried Bartsch about 1700. • Now in the Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen, Berlin-Dahlem.

a. Collection of Prince Lobkowitz, Raudnitz (48 × 35). A copy of the portrait in its original state. • Present location unknown.

79. (Plate 62) *Portrait of the Three Children of Christian II of Denmark*. Hampton Court, No. 248 (34×45). From the collections of Henry VIII and Charles I (listed in the inventory as by *Mabiusius*). About 1525. See p. 39, above. • Inv. No. 309.

a. (Plate 62) Collection of the Earl of Pembroke, Wilton House. An old copy. • 32.4×42.5 cm.

b. (Plate 62) Collection of the Earl of Radnor, Longford Castle (38×47). An old copy.

c. Collection of Lord Methuen, Corsham Court. An old copy. • Present location unknown.

Under No. 186 in the catalogue of the London Academy show of 1927 still other copies in British mansions are mentioned, one in Sudeley Castle and another in the possession of the Duke of Leeds, Kiveton, near Sheffield.

80. (Plate 63) *Portrait of an Aged Couple*. National Gallery, London, No. 1689 (45×68, painted on vellum). See p. 39, above.

81. (Plate 63) *Portrait of a Young Man at Prayer*. Geneva museum. Reproduced in *Les Arts*, November 1912. Gossart? • Inv. No. 1872-4; 33×31 cm (189).

CATALOGUE B: THE PAINTINGS OF BERNART VAN ORLEY

82. (Plates 71, 72, 73) *Altarpiece with Shutters, The Legends of Sts. Thomas and Matthew*: centrepiece, left, *St. Thomas Threatened*; right, *The Calling of St. Matthew*. Staatsgalerie, Vienna, No. 765 (140×180, curved at the top). Left shutter, *Christ Appearing to the Doubting Thomas*; right, *The Martyrdom of St. Matthew*; verso, in grisaille, the two apostles, with kneeling donors. Brussels museum, Nos. 337 A and B (138×80). Signed on the centrepiece: BERNART ORLEY and VAN, with the master's arms. The altarpiece comes from the Church of Notre-Dame du Sablon in Brussels, whence the shutters went to the museum in 1859. The original donors were the joiner's guild. This is the *chef d'œuvre* of van Orley's early period (around 1512). See pp. 52 f., above. • The two shutters at Brussels, Inv. No. 1435 and 1436.

83. (Plate 74) *Altarpiece with Shutters, Standing Saints*: centre, side by side, from the left, Sts. Peter and Paul, Christ, the Virgin, St. Anne and the Magdalene; left shutter, Sts. Dymphna (?) and Catherine of Bologna (?); right, Sts. Francis and Clare. Staatliche Galerie, Kassel, No. 24 (52×42—18). Stylistically related to the Brussels hospital altarpiece. Painted around 1518. • Inv. of 1749 No. 2153.

84. (Plates 75, 76, 77) *Altarpiece with Shutters, Death of the Virgin*, with six scenes from the life of the Virgin. Municipal hospital, Brussels (105×153,

the shutters 69×23 each for the bottom row, 36×21 at the top). Signed: *Dit es ghemacht anno xv^cxx den xi dach Augusti*. On the versos of the shutters, *The Mass of Pope Gregory*, and *Sts. Catherine and Gertrude*, with two donatrices. Shown at Bruges in 1902, No. 163. Reproduced in P. Wytsman, *Tableaux Peu Connus en Belgique*, Brussels, 1903, Plates 16 and 17. In part a workshop product. See p. 59, above. • Inv. No. 1.

85. (Plates 78, 79, 80, 81) *Altarpiece with Shutters, The Visitations of Job*. Brussels museum, No. 335 ($176 \times 184-80$, curved at the top). Centrepiece: *The Destruction of the Children of Job*; left shutter, *The Rape of Job's Flocks*; right, *Job Receiving Ill Tidings*; verso, left, *Poor Lazarus at the Rich Man's Gate*; right, *The Rich Man's Death and Purgatory*. Signed in the centrepiece: *BERNARDVS·DORLEÿ·BRUXELLANUS·FACIEBAT·A^o·DNⁱ·M^o·CCCCC^o·XXI·IIII^a·MAY*, also the motto: *ELX SYNE [90] TYT — ORLEY 1521*, and the master's arms, lastly a monogram formed of the letters BVO (?), shown twice. This is the *chef d'œuvre* of the middle period, commissioned by Margaret of Austria for the Lord of Hoogstraeten. Auctioned with the collection of King William II of the Netherlands in 1850, Nos. 25-29. See pp. 65 f., above. • Inv. No. 1822.

86. (Plates 82, 83) *Altarpiece with Shutters, The Lamentation*: left shutter, Philip Haneton with seven sons and St. Philip; right, his wife with five daughters and St. Margaret; versos of the shutters, in grisaille, *The Annunciation*. Brussels museum, No. 559 ($87 \times 108-48$). From the church of St. Gudula, Brussels. Done about 1522. See pp. 70 f. above. • Inv. No. 358.

87. (Plates 84, 85) *Altarpiece with Shutters, The Last Judgment and The Seven Mercies*. Antwerp museum (property of the Civil Hospital), Nos. 741-745 ($250 \times 220-95$, curved at the top). Commissioned by the Almoners in 1518 or 1519. Finished in 1525. See pp. 69f. above. • Cat. Nos. 741, 742, 744; $248 \times 218-94$ cm.

88. (Plate 86) *Altarpiece with Shutters, Christ on the Cross*. The rectos of the shutters each carry two panels, one above the other: left, *Christ Crowned with Thorns* and *Christ Carrying the Cross*; right, *The Lamentation* and *The Resurrection*. Church of Notre-Dame, Bruges (more than 3 m high and 2 m wide at the centre). Commissioned by Margaret of Austria for her burial church at Brou and left unfinished by van Orley. Completed in 1561 by Marc Gheeraerts and restored in 1589 by Frans Pourbus. (The date of 1589, above the arms, relates to this restoration.) See p. 81, above.

a. (Plate 86) Archaeological museum, Madrid, an altarpiece with shutters, the centrepiece of which coincides in its main features with the Bruges altarpiece. Left, *Christ Carrying the Cross*; right, *The Deposition*. • Inv. No. 51.978; 114×75 cm.

b. (Plate 86) Art market, New York (Ehrich, 112×84). An old copy of the centrepiece. • Present location unknown.

89. (Plate 87) *Altarpiece with Shutters, The Seven Sorrows of Mary*. Besançon museum. About 1530, in part a workshop product. • Inv. No. 799.1.17; 200 × 142.5—62 cm.

90. (Plate 88) *Diptych, The Betrothal of the Virgin, Christ among the Doctors*. On the verso of the second panel, an angel holding an armorial bearing. Kobler collection, New York (53 × 32 each). About 1513. See pp. 54 f., above. • Now in the National Gallery of Art, Washington (D.C.), Samuel H. Kress Foundation, Inv. No. 1126 and 1126; 53.7 × 32.5—53.7 × 32.3 cm.

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91. (Plate 89) *A Pair of Altarpiece Shutters, The Martyrdom of St. Catherine and St. Louis Giving Alms*. Collection of Baron Schroeder, London (113 × 64 each, curved at the top). Shown in London in 1929, No. 203 1911. Done about 1514. See p. 55, above. • Now in the Mrs. G.W. Mallinckrodt-Schroeder collection, London.

a. (Plate 89) Golenistcheff-Coutouzoﬀ collection, Leningrad. An old copy of the panel, *The Martyrdom of St. Catherine*. Reproduced in *Les Trésors d'Art en Russie*, 1903, Nos. 136, 137. • Now in the National Museum of Occidental and Oriental Art, Kiev, Cat. (1961) No. 76; 134.5 × 115 cm.

92. (Plates 90, 91). *A Pair of Altarpiece Shutters, The Knighting of a Youthful Saint and The Virgin Surrounded by Saints Peter, Paul and Agnes, another female figure, a kneeling bishop and an Angel*. Mortimer Schiff collection, New York. Versos, abbots' staffs and small panels showing the Virgin and a portrait of an abbot. In the windows on the shutter panel with the Virgin, the arms of the painters' guild and the personal arms of van Orley. About 1514. See p. 54, above. • Cf. the iconographic interpretation by Guy de Tervarent, *Revue Belge d'Archéologie*, 1934, fasc. 1 1921. Two shutters from this altarpiece have recently turned up on the art market, a *Birth of St. John the Baptist*, with de Boer's in Amsterdam, a *Beheading of St. John the Baptist* in New York (65 × 76 each) 1931. • *The Knighting of a Youthful Saint*, now in the Nelson Gallery-Atkins Museum, Kansas City (Mo.), The H. J. Haskell Bequest, Inv. No. 53-39; 69.2 × 75.6 cm. *The Virgin Surrounded by Saints*, now in the Mrs. Wetzlar collection, Amsterdam; 69 × 75 cm. *The Birth of St. John the Baptist*, in 1938 on the art market, Amsterdam (P. de Boer); present location unknown. *The Beheading of the Baptist* in 1954 Dr. Ricardo Espírito Santo Silva collection, Lisbon. From the reverse of the Kansas City panel only the Virgin and Child is preserved. The abbot in prayer painted on the reverse of the *Beheading of St. John* was sold at Parke-Bernet, New York, on 23rd 24th January 1947 as representing St. Bernard de Clairvaux (39 × 24.8 cm).

93. (Plates 92, 93) *A Pair of Altarpiece Shutters, The Legend of St. Anne*. Brussels museum, No. 561 (138 × 70 each, curved at the top). Left shutter, *Birth of the Virgin*; verso, *The Betrothal of Sts. Joachim and Anne*; right, *St. Joachim's Sacrifice Rejected*; verso, *St. Anne Kneeling at Prayer*. Dated 1528 on the panel

with the betrothal. The shutters, which are workshop products, are from the Church of Notre-Dame du Sablon, Brussels. • Inv. Nos. 1433-1434.

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94. (Plates 94, 95) *A Pair of Panels, The Seven Joys of Mary, The Seven Sorrows of Mary*. Colonna Gallery, Rome (35 × 26 each). Compare the compositions in the Brussels hospital altarpiece (No. 84) and the Antwerp *Mater Dolorosa* (No. 95). The centre of the panel with the seven joys bears a *Virgin and Child*, after an older model, possibly by Rogier van der Weyden, which is preserved in an engraving by the Master of the Banderoles and used repeatedly by the Master of the Legend of the Magdalene (see *Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, 1909, p. 10).

There are a number of mediocre copies of this Madonna, with added angels, e.g. one with three angels in the Worcester museum (U.S.A., Plate 94) and one without angels in the Louvre (Plate 94). The M. Le Roy collection, Paris, has a tapestry based on this composition. • The two panels in the Galleria Colonna, Rome, Inv. Nos. 1261 and 1260. The panel in Worcester (Mass.), Acc. No. 1918.185; 85.2 × 66.1 cm. The panel from the Louvre, Paris, now on loan to the Musée de la Ville de Strasbourg, Strasbourg, Cat. No. 8bis; 75.2 × 56.5 cm.

95. (Plate 96) *Mater Dolorosa*, with *The Seven Sorrows of Mary*, in small medallions. Antwerp museum (van Ertborn collection), No. 521 (47 × 46). From the middle period (about 1526). Presumably there was a companion piece, *The Seven Joys of Mary*. • 48 × 48 cm.

96. (Plate 97) *A Pair of Panels, The Nativity and The Agony in the Garden*. Berlin (Matthiesen, 1927, 34.5 × 24.5 each). About 1519. • *The Nativity*, present location unknown. *The Agony in the Garden*, now in the Mrs. O. Matthiesen collection, London.

97. (Plates 97) *A Pair of Panels, Christ Crowned with Thorns and Christ Carrying the Cross*. Alfred Stowe collection, Buckingham (66 × 82 each). Shown at Bruges in 1902. Nos. 279-80. On the verso of one panel an armorial bearing, supposedly of the counts of Nassau. The execution is on the crude side. About 1530. • *Christ Crowned with Thorns*, now in a private collection, Switzerland. *Christ Carrying the Cross*, now at Oüel College, Oxford.

98. (Plate 100) *Six Panels, The Legend of St. Catherine*. Brussels museum, No. 562 (110 × 29—36 each). From the Church of Notre-Dame du Sablon. A workshop product. About 1530. • Inv. No. 2515; 110 × 30 cm; 110 × 39 cm; 110 × 29 cm; 110 × 36 cm; 110 × 36.5 cm.

99. (Plates 98, 99) *Scene from a Legend*. Turin museum, No. 318 (95 × 106). Verso of the right shutter of an altarpiece van Orley is known to have done between 1515 and 1520 for the Confraternity of the Sacred Cross in Furnes,

Flanders. See pp. 57 f., above. • The opposite shutter, a *St. Helen in Rome* (with a *Christ Carrying the Cross* in grisaille on the verso), was recently acquired for the Brussels museum (cf. my article in *Pantheon*, October 1933). It is now clear that these panels comprise all the shutters for the altarpiece done in 1515-1520 for Furnes. • The Turin picture, Inv. No. 317. The Brussels picture, Inv. No. 4999; 74 × 102 cm.

100. (Plate 100) *Abraham's Sacrifice*. Schwerin gallery, No. 757 (98 × 54). Shutter of an altarpiece done about 1513, in part with workshop assistance. • Inv. No. G 385.

101. (Plate 100) *The Presentation in the Temple*. Art market, Vienna (Lukas-Galerie, 130 × 112). About 1525. • Now in the Dienst voor 's Rijks Verspreide Kunstvoorwerpen, The Hague, Inv. No. N.K. 2723 (1941).

102. (Plate 101) *The Annunciation*. Oslo museum (Langaard collection), No. 13 in the catalogue of the collection (53 × 34). Done about 1518. See p. 60, above. • Inv. No. 1350; 52 × 33 cm.

103. (Plate 101) *The Annunciation*, Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge (80 × 52). About 1517. • Cat. (1960) No. 98; 60 × 54 cm.

104. (Plate 101) *The Nativity*. Brussels museum, No. 336 (100 × 170). A workshop product from the middle period, about 1525. • Inv. No. 343.

a. (Plate 101) Helbing auction, Munich (Museen der Stadt Aachen), 1917, No. 35 (60 × 52). A partial copy, *Virgin and Child*. • Present location unknown.

105. (Plate 102) *The Adoration of the Magi*. Johnson collection, Philadelphia, Catalogue II, No. 400 (32.5 × 44). About 1522.

106. *The Adoration of the Magi*: centre, the Virgin; right, the two elder Magi; left, the Moorish Magus.

a. (Plate 102) Brussels museum, No. 454 (108 × 105). Centrepiece of a triptych. • Inv. No. 337.

b. (Plate 103) Schleissheim gallery, No. 159 (98 × 80). • Inv. No. WAF 745.

c. (Plate 102) Art market, London (Th. Harris, 1930). • Present location unknown.

The composition goes back to van Orley, about 1524. The execution in the replicas enumerated is mediocre.

107. (Plate 103) *The Presentation in the Temple*. Frizzoni collection, Bergamo, present whereabouts unknown (140 × 120). About 1528. • Present location unknown; 135 × 118 cm (1951).

108. (Plate 103) *The Circumcision*. Staatsgalerie, Vienna, No. 767 (111 × 72).

From the middle period, about 1529. ◦ When the verso was cleaned, remnants of a *Christ as the Man of Sorrows* were uncovered. • Inv. No. 893.

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109. *Christ at the Home of Martha and Mary*. Weber collection, Hamburg (Berlin auction, 68×47). In the style of 1518, but rather weak. • Present location unknown. Perhaps the same picture which passed through the P. de Boer Gallery, Amsterdam, in 1945.

110. (Plate 104) *Christ Shown to the People*. Tournai museum. About 1530. ◦ Cathedral, Tournai. • 134×100 cm.

111. (Plate 105) *Preparations for the Crucifixion*, with the group of mourners. Edinburgh gallery, No. 995 (64×71). About 1519. • 67.3×85.7 cm.

112. (Plate 105) *Christ on the Cross*, with St. John and the mourning women. Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin (67×49). About 1512. • Now in the Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen, Berlin-Dahlem, Cat. No. 1699; 66.5×49.5 cm.

113. (Plate 105) *Christ on the Cross*, with the figures of Charity and Justice. Rotterdam museum, No. 215 (140×90, curved at the top). Auction of the collection of King William II of the Netherlands, 1850, No. 32. About 1524. See p. 72, above. • Inv. No. 1629.

114. (Plate 106) *The Mourners beneath the Cross*. Fragment from a Crucifixion. Collection of Sir Herbert Cook, Richmond (107×88). Catalogue of the collection III, No. 470. Shown in London in 1927, No. 221. About 1522. • Now in the Sir William Worsley collection, Hovingham Hall.

115. (Plate 106) *The Lamentation*. Mortimer Schiff collection, New York (32×25). From the collections of Lord Dudley and Dario Venables. About 1518. • Now in the Bonnefantenmuseum, Maastricht, Inv. No. 71 RVK 2631.

116. (Plate 106) *The Lamentation*. Sjöstrand collection, Stockholm (47×45). Formerly in the R. Brocklebank collection (Haughton Hall). The composition is the same as in the tondos of the *Sorrows of Mary* in Antwerp and in the Colonna Gallery, Rome. • Present location unknown.

117. (Plate 106) *The Lamentation*. Art market, Paris (Kraemer). With a donatrix who, by the arms, was a Habsburg princess. • Present location unknown.

118. (Plate 107) *Christ at the Home of Mary with a Following of Liberated Ancestors*. Art market, New York (Ehrich, 1909). About 1516. • Present location unknown.

119. (Plate 107) *The Virgin and Child with St. Anne*. Collection of Don Juan

Lafora, Madrid. Shown in Bruges in 1907, No. 249. Rather crude, possibly a workshop product of about 1512. Identical with the painting sold by Muller, Amsterdam, as part of the de Labrouhe de Laborde collection, Paris, on 23rd May 1922 (No. 21, 91×77, curved at the top). Two panels with groups of the *Holy Kindred* that appeared on the Paris art market in 1920 (Mori) belong with this painting. • Present location unknown.

120. (Plate 107) *The Magdalene*, in half-length. v. Pannwitz collection, De Hartekamp, near Haarlem (26×17.5). Formerly in the v. Hollitscher collection, Berlin. About 1517. • Present location unknown.

121. (Plate 107) *St. Matthew Enthroned*, with the angel. v. Goldammer collection, Plausdorf (55×41.5). The van Orley arms are indistinctly visible in the ornamentation above the throne. About 1513. • Present location unknown.

122. (Plate 108) *The Archangel Michael*, with a donor. Pinakothek, Munich, No. 158 (146×84, curved at the top). Acquired in 1813 in the Netherlands for the Boisserée collection. • Inv. No. WAF 744.

123. (Plate 108) *St. Norbert Preaching* 1961. Pinakothek, Munich, No. 157 (95×64). From the Boisserée collection. On the verso, badly overcleaned, two saints in grisaille. Done about 1512. • Inv. No. WAF 743.

124. (Plate 110) *Virgin and Child by a Fountain*. Metropolitan Museum, New York, No. 516-1 (85×70, Altman collection). Formerly in the Emden collection, Hamburg. About 1513. See p. 56, above. • Acc. No. 14.40.632.

125. *Virgin and Child Standing*. Van Orley repeatedly used this composition, which apparently goes back the Master of Flémalle's *Virgin in an Apse* (see my Vol. II, No. 74).

a. (Plate 109) Prado, Madrid, No. 1920 (54×39). Probably by van Orley's own hand. About 1516.

b. (Plate 109) Oldenburg gallery. Probably by van Orley's own hand. About 1515. • Inv. No. GGO 41b; 59×38.5 cm.

c. (Plate 109) Cadiz museum (51×35). Without the angels. By van Orley's own hand. About 1517. • Cat. (1964) No. 95.

d. (Plate 109) Auction of the collection of Marquis de Victoire de Heredia, Paris, 1912, No. 39 (55×38). A mediocre copy. • Present location unknown.

e. Collection of D. Agustin Caro Riaño, Granada (45×25). A mediocre copy. • Present location unknown.

f. Schevitch auction, Paris, 1906, No. 8 (85×63). A late imitation. • Present location unknown.

126. (Plate 111) *Virgin and Child Seated by a Fountain*. Ambrosiana, Milan, No. 23 (63×74). About 1516. • Inv. No. 46; 62×50 cm.

a. (Plate 111) Glasgow gallery, No. 269 (105×81). Shown at Bruges in

1902, No. 154. A replica of approximately equal merit. • Inv. No. 201.

b. (Plate 111) Germanisches Museum, Nuremberg, No. 43 (84 × 62, curved at the top). And old copy, reversed. • Inv. No. G M 68.

c. (Plate 111) Provinzialmuseum, Bonn, No. 203 (from the Berlin gallery, No. 552a, 52 × 38). A partial copy. • Now in the Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen, Berlin-Dahlem.

d. (Plate 111) Art market, London (Spanish Art Gallery, 57 × 36). Different in style, reversed. • Present location unknown.

e. Art market, Berlin (Dr. Rothmann, 1927, 72 × 76). An old copy, much like a. • Sold at Galerie Fiévez, Brussels, on 14th–15th June 1927; 78 × 74 cm. Present location unknown.

f. v. Rennenkampff collection, Damnik, Estonia (38 × 34). A good replica, much like a. • Present location unknown.

g. Private ownership, Troppau. A partial copy, the Virgin in half-length. • Present location unknown.

127. *Virgin and Child Seated on a Grassy Ledge*. R. Traumann collection, Madrid. Present whereabouts unknown.

128. *Virgin and Child Outdoors*. A. Schloss collection, Paris (70 × 67). About 1517. • Present location unknown.

a. (Plate 112) Private ownership, Paris (90 × 70). A good contemporary replica, somewhat inferior to the specimen in the Schloss collection, but in a better state of preservation. • Now in the Art Gallery of Ontario, Toronto, Acc. No. 2456; 86.9 × 73.9 cm.

b. (Plate 112) Hermitage, Leningrad. An old copy, including Joseph • Inv. No. 453; 80 × 72 cm. Transferred to canvas.

129. (Plate 113) *Virgin and Child Seated within a Throne Structure*. Prado, Madrid, No. 1536 (45 × 39). According to an inscription on the verso, this painting was presented in 1588 to Philip II by the city of Louvain. The author is here given as *Johannes Mabeus* (Gossart). Done about 1516. See pp. 60 f., above.

a. (Plate 113) Collection of Baron James Rothschild, Waddesdon Manor. Formerly in the collection of Lord Northbrook, London, No. 19 in Weale's catalogue (44 × 38). A replica of equal merit, with slight changes in the architecture. • Now in Waddesdon Manor, The National Trust; 45 × 39 cm.

130. (Plate 114) *Virgin and Child Outdoors*. National Gallery, London, No. 714 (34 × 26).

131. (Plate 114) *Virgin and Child Seated before a Tree*. de Fursac auction, Brussels, 1923, No. 170 (62 × 53). Formerly in the B. Thaw collection, New York. Possibly the original. The composition, at any rate, goes back to van Orley. About 1518. • Now in a private collection, Brussels; 62 × 54 cm.

132. (Plate 114) *Virgin and Child with the Boy St. John*. Prado, Madrid, No. 1932 (98 × 71). Considerably overpainted, hence hard to judge. Apparently an original of about 1514.

a. (Plate 114) Prado, Madrid, No. 1934 (60 × 78). The Virgin as in the museum's No. 1932, with a St. Francis and a donor added. Mediocre execution by an imitator.

133. (Plate 115) *Virgin and Child*, seen to the knee. Collection of Prince of Wied, Neuwied (24 × 18, rounded at the top). Done about 1518. One side of a diptych, the right panel of which 1971 carried a portrait of the Regent Margaret. See p. 61, above. • Now in the Prince of Wied collection, Munich.

a. (Plate 115) Lescarts collection, Mons (27 × 20 each). An old copy of the complete diptych. Shown in Bruges in 1907, No. 51. • Present location unknown.

b. (Plate 115) Art market, Munich (Böhler, 1922, 30.5 × 43.5). A copy. Both sides of the diptych in a single wide panel. • Present location unknown.

c. Art market, Munich (Heinemann, 1925, 36 × 53). A copy, like a, but the window in the middle. • Present location unknown.

A portrait of the Regent, in oval format (23 × 19, Plate 115), possibly cut from this diptych, was formerly in the v. Hollitscher collection, Berlin, subsequently on the art market, New York (Reinhardt). • Sold at Muller, Amsterdam, on 9th November 1940, No. 515; 24.8 × 18.5 cm. Present location unknown.

134. (Plate 116) *Virgin and Child*, in half-length. Art market, London (Colnaghi), from the collection of Lord Northbrook (50.5 × 37). Shown in Bruges in 1902, No. 330. One side of a diptych, the Carondelet portrait in Munich forming the other side. About 1521. • Now in the Polesden Lacey Mansion, The National Trust; 53.4 × 37.4 cm.

135. *Virgin and Child*, in half-length indoors. This oft-repeated composition occurs also as the centrepiece of a triptych. It seems to have been particularly popular in Bruges. A specimen by Benson is in the Schleissheim gallery 1981. The replicas enumerated here are reminiscent of van Orley's Madonna type of the period around 1518.

a. (Plate 116) Collection of Count Gr. Stroganoff, Rome (28 × 20). • Now in the County Museum, Los Angeles, Cat. (1954) No. 6; 25.4 × 18.7 cm.

b. Art market, Paris (Trotti), Castiglioni auction, 1925 (26 × 19). A workshop replica of approximately equal merit 1991. • Now in the County Museum, Los Angeles, Cat. (1954) No. 6; 25.4 × 18.7 cm.

c. Art market, Munich (A.S. Drey, 1920, 28 × 20). The Madonna type differs. • Sold at A.S. Drey, Munich, 1935. Present location unknown.

d. Art market, Munich (Heinemann, 1929). The style differs. • Present location unknown.

136. (Plate 117) *Virgin and Child*, in half-length. v. Auspitz collection,

Vienna (36×26). About 1518. • In 1932 on the Hague art market (K.W. Bachstitz); 35.5×25 cm. Present location unknown.

a. (Plate 117) Hoogendijk collection, Amsterdam (present whereabouts unknown, 37.5×28). Approximately the equal of the picture in the v. Auspitz collection. • Now in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, Inv. No. A2567. o 136b. A fine specimen of the composition is in the museum at Pommersfelden. • 35.5×52 cm.

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137. *Virgin and Child*, in half-length, the child standing.

a. (Plate 118) Donaueschingen museum, No. 105 (50×41).

Judging by this specimen, the composition goes back to van Orley. There are several late and mediocre copies. See the Donaueschingen catalogue of 1921.

138. (Plate 118) *The Holy Family*. Baron Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection, Rohoncz (Castle in the Burgenland) (87×72). Free after a woodcut by Cranach. About 1515. • Now in the Thyssen-Bornemisza Art Collection, Lugano-Castagnola, Cat. (1958) No. 312.

139. (Plate 118) *The Holy Family*. Louvre, Paris, No. 2067a (108×89). Signed: *Bern. Orleyn Pingebat Anno Verbi 1521*. From the Otlet collection, Brussels. See p. 68, above. • Inv. No. R.F. 1473.

a. Bastinelli auction, Florence, 1908, No. 41 (48×39). An old copy, with the child turned the other way. • Present location unknown.

b. Private ownership, Berlin. An old copy without Joseph and the angel. The child turned as in a. • Present location unknown (100).

140. (Plate 119) *The Holy Family*. Prado, Madrid, P. Bosch collection, No. 29. Signed: *Ber. Orleij 1101 Faciebat An. 1522*. From Burgos. • Cat. No. 2692; 90×74 cm.

a. (Plate 119) Brussels museum, No. 338 (84×73). A free workshop copy. • Inv. No. 359.

141. (Plate 119) *The Holy Family*. Dansette collection, Brussels (81×56). From the Nieuwenhuys collection, 1883, formerly in Northwick Park. Supposedly painted for a convent in Alost. About 1522. • Present location unknown.

a. Tölke collection, Munich (87×69). A copy, auctioned by Helbing, Munich, in 1917 (Museen der Stadt Aachen), No. 39. • Present location unknown.

142. *Portrait of Charles V*, aged about 15 years. The replicas here mentioned were done in van Orley's studio.

a. (Plate 120) Louvre, Paris, No. 2205B (37×27). • Inv. No. INV. 2031.

b. (Plate 120) Naples museum. • Inv. No. 14; 36×26 cm.

c. (Plate 120) Louvre, Paris, collection of Baron Schlichting (35×25). • Inv. No. R.F. 2120.

143. (Plate 120) *Portrait of Charles V.* Budapest gallery, No. 697 (72×51.5). About 1516. See pp. 63 f., above.

144. (Plate 121) *Portrait of the Physician Georges de Zelle.* Brussels museum, No. 334 (39×32) 11021. Signed: BERNARDVS · DORLEII · FACIEBAT: BRVXELL: M · D · XIX · · · AETAT: 28. See pp. 62 f., above. • Inv. No. 1454.

145. (Plate 122) *Portrait of a Gentleman*, supposedly Guillaume de Norman. Brussels museum, No. 567 (84×72). Inscribed under the arms: *Guillaume De Norman 1519*. This inscription must have been added subsequently in error, for judging by dress and style the picture must have been done about 1540. The sitter was probably Guillaume de Norman the younger, rather than his namesake father, whom the false date would fit. • Inv. No. 1510.

146. (Plate 123) *Portrait of Jean Carondelet.* Pinakothek, Munich, No. 133 (53×37). From the Boisserée collection, for which it was acquired in Mainz in 1817 (1103). • Cf. my note in Vol. XII, p. 161 (1104). • Inv. No. WAF 742 (1105).

147. (Plate 122) *Portraits of a Husband and His Wife.* Uffizi, Florence, Nos. 821, 839 (36×28 each). About 1525. • Inv. No. 1140, 1161; 37×29 cm.

148. (Plate 124) *Portrait of a Man.* Dresden gallery, No. 811 (37.5×29). Indistinctly dated 1522 (1106). • Inv. No. 1722, A 1194.

149. (Plate 125) *Portrait of an Aged Minister of State.* Brussels museum, No. 301 (55×46). From the middle period (about 1525). See p. 72, above. • Inv. No. 2968.

150. (Plate 124) *Portrait of a Young Man.* Staatsgalerie, Vienna, No. 769 (60×45). About 1515. Possibly a self-portrait. See p. 56, above. • Now in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Wien, Inv. No. 865.

151. *Portrait of Margaret of Austria.* See p. 63, above.

a. (Plate 126) Tudor Wilkinson collection, Paris (36×27). • Sold at Drouot, Paris, on 3rd-4th July 1969, No. 80; 35.5×25.5 cm. Present location unknown.

b. (Plate 126) Brussels museum, No. 805 (37×27). Acquired in 1914. • Inv. No. 4059.

c. (Plate 126) Carvalho collection, Paris (33×28). Shown in Bruges in 1902, No. 224. Kleinberger, London, 1927, No. 206 (M. Arens). • Present location unknown.

d. (Plate 126) Hampton Court, No. 623 (35×25). A copy.

e. (Plate 126) Antwerp museum (van Ertborn collection), No. 184 (34×24). A copy.

f. Van der Stichelen de Maubus collection, Ypres (34×26). A copy. • Now in the Stadsmuseum, Ypres; 37.5×27.5 cm.

o 151g. A fine specimen of the portrait of the regent Margaret is in the Schiller collection, London. • Present location unknown.

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152. (Plate 127) *Portrait of the Second Daughter of Philip Haneton*. National Gallery, Edinburgh. Erroneously labelled Margaret Queen of Scots and attributed to Gossart. About 1522. • Inv. No. 1895; 72.4 × 54.6 cm.

153. (Plate 127) *Portrait of a Youthful Princess*. Art market, Washington (1910). The piece of jewellery at the breast in the form of an M suggests Mary of Hungary, about 1522, but the painting bears little resemblance to the known portraits of this princess, which were indeed done much later. o Now in the Neumann collection, Barmen. • Present location unknown; 42 × 30 cm.

154. (Plate 127) *A Roman Soldier and a Kneeling Man*. The meaning of this picture has not been deciphered. Speck v. Sternburg collection, Lützschen (ca. 120 × 70). See Winkler, *Mitteilungen aus den Sächsischen Kunstsammlungen*, Vol. 7, 1916, pp. 35 ff. Signed with a monogram formed of the letters O, B, A (?) and F, not otherwise known to occur in this form. About 1530. • Now in the Museum der Bildenden Künste, Leipzig, Inv. No. 1639; 130 × 92 cm.

SUPPLEMENT TO THE CATALOGUES

JAN GOSSART

Suppl. 155. (Plate 138) *The Holy Family with Saints and Angels*. Hamburg, Wedells collection 11071. Cf. German edition, Vol. XI, p. 75. • Now in the Kunsthalle, Hamburg, Inv. No. 751; 81.6 × 66.5 cm.

Suppl. 156. (Plate 139) *The Metamorphosis of Salmacis and Hermaphroditus*. Van Beuningen collection, Rotterdam (33 × 21, rounded at the top). • Now in the Boymans-van Beuningen Museum, Rotterdam, Inv. No. 2451 (11081).

Suppl. 157. (Plate 139) *Lucretia*, in half-length. Auctioned at Lepke's, Berlin, on 15th March 1935 (40 × 35). • Rounded at the top (11091). Now in the H. Kisters collection, Kreuzlingen; 46 × 36 cm.

BERNART VAN ORLEY

Suppl. 158. (Plate 140) *Christ Carrying the Cross*. Art market, Antwerp (Hartveld, 1931). • Now in the Bonnefantennmuseum, Maastricht, Inv. No. 534 RVK 1414; 67.3 × 58 cm.

Suppl. 159. (Plate 140) *The Regent Margaret as Magdalene*, in half-length. Schleissheim, No. 3012 (36 × 24). • On loan from the Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Munich, Inv. No. 1133.

Suppl. 160. *Portrait of a Man* in bust-length. Collection of the Duke of Ansola, Madrid. • Present location unknown.

Suppl. 161. (Plate 140) *Christ on the Cross* with mourners and soldiers. Private collection, Paris. A rather early work (about 1516). • Now in the Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford (Conn.), Acc. No. 1939.429; 105 × 76 cm.

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ADDENDA

• Add. 162. (Plate 139) *Diptych. Virgin and Child, Portrait of Don Juan de Zuñiga y Avellaneda*. Capilla Real, el Palau, Barcelona. The portrait of Don Juan Zuñiga y Avellaneda probably lost. Jan Gossart. Cf. J. M. March, 'Tres tablas del Palau de Barcelona atribuibles a Mabuse', in *Boletín de la Sociedad Española de Excursiones*, LII, 1948, p. 289 [110].

• Add. 163. (Plate 139) *The Holy Family*. Musco de Bellas Artes y Arte Moderno, Bilbao; 59 × 45 cm. Jan Gossart. Cf. D. A. Iñiguez, 'La Sagrada Familia del Convento de Cuerva, por Gossart, Miscelánea de primitivos flamencos y españoles', in *Archivo Español de Arte y Arqueología*, XXXIX, 1937, pp. 194-197.

• Add. 164. (Plate 57) *Portrait of a Banker*. National Gallery of Art, Washington (D.C.), Ailsa Mellon Bruce Fund; 63.6 × 47.5 cm. Jan Gossart [111]. Cf. J. Rosenberg, 'A Portrait of a Banker (Jerôme Sadelin?)', in *National Gallery of Art, Report and Studies in the History of Art*, I, 1967, pp. 39-43.

• Add. 165. (Plate 140) *Portrait of a Man*. National Pushkin Museum, Moscow; 39 × 28 cm. Jan Gossart [112]. Cf. K. M. Malitskaya, *Great Paintings in the Pushkin Museum*, New York, 1964, pl. 34; cf. also the 1961 catalogue of the collection, p. 59.

• Add. 166. (Plate 116) *Virgin and Child*. Brussels, Gendebien collection; 24.1 × 18.4 cm. Bernart van Orley. Cf. J. W. Moltke, 'Eine Madonna des Bernart van Orley', in *Pantheon*, xxx, pp. 259-260 [113]. Same type as No. 135.

Editor's Note

Friedländer's essay on Gossart is still the only comprehensive study of the painter. Since 1930, and since the conclusion of the fourteenth volume of Friedländer's study, Gossart literature has grown by about one hundred items, including publication of new documents, newly discovered works, and a handful of studies of a more comprehensive nature. Among the latter, an essay by Glück [114] was for many years the only substantial article in English. In it the author commented on Gossart's early works and connected some paintings to documents. Schwarz [115] dealt with Gossart's treatment of the Adam and Eve theme, and Mayer-Meintschel [116] discussed versions of the Christ of Sorrows. Marlier [117] wrote about Gossart within the context of Flemish humanism, courtly circles catering to Italianate fashions, and the beginnings of Protestant reactions. Connections between Gossart and writers at the court of Marguerite of Austria were touched upon by Brom [118]. Von der Osten [119] came out with an article of studies devoted to a few problems; these include the thorny issue of Gossart and the Antwerp Mannerists, aspects of Gossart's stylistic evolution, relations with and dependence on Conrad Meit (in this connection see also Weihrauch [120]), and late works (largely invalid, since the author did not know of the date of Gossart's death).

Additions to the œuvre are most significant in the area of drawings. The number of Roman drawings doubled with the publication of two new studies by J.G. van Gelder [121], while other items were added by Winkler [122] Krönig [123], Baldass [124], Rosenberg [125], Wescher [126], and Boon [127]. Friedländer [128] also published the only extant drawn portrait by Gossart, a *Portrait of Christian II, King of Denmark* (Add. 34 to the drawings) [129], in which the head was apparently done from life. Folie [130] brought out the first catalogue of the drawings, deleting some of Friedländer's attributions (whithout comment), but summarizing the new discoveries.

While publications of new drawings have enlarged our knowledge of Gossart's œuvre, parallel studies on the paintings have served more often to obscure its limits. Despite Friedländer's lucid delineation of the character of Gossart's style and the course of its evolution, scholars still fail to arrive at a consensus of what, precisely, his œuvre should consist. Attribution of paintings which reflect Gossart's intervention (intellectual but probably not manual) are suggested by Itiguez [131], Richardson [132], and Luissig-Boschenska [133]. Folie's [134] study of the *Salmacis and Hermaphroditus* (Suppl. 156) is interesting primarily for its technical report. Although the question of this panel's authorship is not raised in the literature, its indifferent craftsmanship suggests a need to query this point. Gossart's early activity is poorly known and much debated [135]. New additions to the œuvre are suggested by

Verhaegen [136], Van Hasselt [137] (a putative early drawing), Winkler [138], Pieper [139], and most recently, Wescher [139a]. Not all of the attributions in the aforementioned articles are altogether convincing. On the other hand, Staring's [140] recognition of a lost portrait of Henry II of Nassau-Breda and another of Mencia de Mendoza is well considered. The most significant addition to the oeuvre was made by March [141] in a study neglected until recently; unfortunately one panel of the diptych, the portrait of de Zuñiga (Add. 162) which he discovered has since disappeared. The Magdalene exhibited at Rotterdam and Bruges in 1965 [142] is the finest work by Gossart to come to public attention in recent years.

The single most important archival find was the discovery by March [143] of documents placing the date of Gossart's death before 13 October 1532. March's study lay ignored for sixteen years until the republication and annotation of the documents by Steppe [144]. A document establishing the presence of Antonio Sicilano, portrayed by Gossart (Cat. 3), in Mechlin in 1513 was published by Duverger [145]. Gossart's involvement as a designer of the tomb of Isabella of Austria was enlarged upon by Deruelle [146], who drew upon the important, earlier work of Glarbol [147]. Maréchal [148] established that Gossart was active in Bruges, and traced the provenance of the triptych listed in the Catalogues as Nos. 7 and 18. Bruyn [149] directed attention to documents which he published with Millar [150] and others by de Vocht [151] and W. H. Vroom [152]. Recently, Montballieu [153] brought out his findings on the painters' chapel in St. Romuald in Mechlin, and Pauwels [154], discussed Gossart's dependence on Jan van Eyck. Duverger [155] touches upon listings in 16th and 17th century inventories of works by Gossart.

Catalogues of exhibitions and collections contain some of the most useful information collected recently on Gossart. The most comprehensive treatment of Gossart's work is the catalogue of the 1965 Gossart exhibition held in Rotterdam and Bruges [156]; it includes 42 paintings, the most complete collection of drawings and prints, a full bibliography, and a digest of known documents, plus two articles dealing with archival material by Steppe [157]. Folie and Verhaegen made useful contributions in the Century of Bruegel catalogue [158], and among museum publications, that by Davies [159] is most exemplary.

A symposium held in Bruges following the closing of the 1965 Gossart exhibition produced a series of papers, which were published by the museum in Rotterdam [160]. Two of these papers treat Gossart in a new light: Herzog's [161] views Gossart as an archeologist and rare interpreter of what his contemporaries called the *antiëksche manier*; and de Jongh's [162] on the Prague *St. Luke* (Cat. 24) stands alone as the only iconological study of a painting by Gossart.

The quincentenary of Bernart van Orley's death was celebrated in 1942 with a documentary exhibition [164] and a series of lectures, subsequently published as a separated volume [165]. Among the contributors we note the names of H. Velge [166] and J. Lavalleye [167], who outlines the painter's evolution and studies his relations with Italian art, whereas O. Le Maire [168] establishes that the artist was born in 1488 and died on 6th January 1541, not in 1542.

Some time later, L. Baldass devoted an important study to van Orley [169] in which he regroups the major part of the works listed by Friedländer, with a few new attributions [170], following the different periods of the artist's career. Baldass also discusses the problem of the artist's journey to Italy, which he tentatively puts before August 1520.

According to H. Wayment, van Orley began to work in the workshop of the van den Houtes in Mechlin, probably before the death of Herman in 1507, whose pupil he might have been, and worked there together with Adrien van den Houte and his stepbrother Peter [170]. This should allow to separate with more ease van Orley's work of that of his colleagues.

The iconography of several panels belonging to altarpieces by Bernart van Orley has held the attention of G. de Tervarent [172]. The two shutters once in the collection of Mortimer Schiff (No. 92) relate to the legend of St. Martin, according to the text of Sulpicius Severus, and represent *The Virgin, St. Agnes, St. Thecla, St. Peter and St. Paul Appearing to St. Martin*, and *St. Martin Made a Soldier at the Age of 15 in the Army of the Emperor Constantius* [173]. The left shutter of a pair, once in the Schröder collection in London (No. 91), depicts *The Return of St. Louis, King of France, from the Holy Land, Accompanied by Six Carmelite Friars*, and *The Distribution of Money by the King* [174], while one of the two panels of the altarpiece of the Brotherhood of the Holy Cross from Furnes, now in Turin (No. 99), shows *The Emperor Constantinus Giving Relics of the Passion to Charlemagne*, according to a *descriptio* written in the 11th century. The verso of this shutter shows a *Healing of the Sick* [175].

Thanks to research in the archives, P. Lefèvre was able to collect new information on van Orley [176] and the donors of the Hancton triptych in the Brussels Museum (No. 86) and to date it by various deductions with some assurance between 1508 and 1512 [177].

Information on Georges de Zelle, whose portrait is also in the Brussels Museum (No. 144), has been published by P. Lefèvre [178], L. Indestege [179] and L. Elaut [180].

The attribution of the *Portrait of Margaret of Austria*, of which only copies have been preserved (No. 151), is questioned by Ch. de Maeyer, who recalls a document of 1505 that mentions a portrait of the regent painted by Pieter van Coninxloo [181]. In his essay on the portraits of Emperor Charles V, G. Glück [182] draws attention to one by van Orley in the Spencer Samuel collection in New York, which differs from the two types mentioned by

Friedländer (Nos. 142 and 143). The same author, in a study devoted to the portraits of Christian II of Denmark and Isabella [183], mentions a portrait of the king in the museum of Copenhagen and also a diptych documented only in archives, a portrait of Isabella in the collection of Count Tarnowski at Dsikow (Poland) [184] and a second in the Museum Narodowe in Cracow [185]. The shutters of a carved altarpiece in the Church of Nordingrâ have been given to Bernart van Orley by G. Lindqvist [186], and this painter has been suggested by E. Foncke in connection with mural paintings at the Hôtel de Busleyden in Mechlin [187], but E. Dhanens [188] believes that these paintings stand nearer to Jan van Roome. A *Portrait of Louis II of Hungary* in a private collection in Zürich, dated between 1530 and 1540, could come from van Orley's studio [189]. Lastly the *Altarpiece of the Calvary*, preserved in the Church of St. Nicholas in Furnes, has been attributed to van Orley by G. de Tervarent [190] and C. Tulpinck [191].

An X-ray picture of the two shutters in the Schröder collection (No. 91) has revealed the donor and his wife on the verso, respectively presented by St. Louis and probably St. Catherine [192].

THE VAN CONINXLOO FAMILY

Publications on the painters of the van Coninxloo family are very scarce. J. Maquet-Tombu has devoted a brief account to them in the volume on van Orley [193], and studied their relations with the Benedictine abbeys, in particular with the former Abbey of St. Denis in Forest, near Brussels [194], and P. Lefèvre has been able to collect some new documentary evidence [195]. P. Vanaise and J. Lafontaine-Dosogne [196] have announced a study on the history and iconography of the four shutters of a polyptych in the church of the same Abbey, attributed to Jan van Coninxloo [197].

1. L. Guicciardini, *Descrittione de' tutti i Paesi Bassi*, Antwerp, 1567, p. 98.

2. K. van Mander, *Het Schilder-Boeck*, Haarlem, 1604, fol. 225. Van Mander is here cribbing from G. Vasari, *Vite de' piu eccellenti pittori, scultori e architetti*, Florence, 1568 (in the edition of Milanesi, VII, p. 584), who used the expression 'quasi il primo' to qualify Guicciardini's appraisal.

3. Gossart died in 1532. See J.M. March, 'Juanin Gossart, Nota sobre el retrato de Don Juan de Zuñiga y Avellaneda', *Boletín de la Sociedad Española de Excursiones*, LIII, 1949, p. 221, note 1. See also J.F.K. Steppe, 'Het Sterfjaar van Jan Gossart', in Catalogue of the Gossart exhibition, Rotterdam-Bruges 1965, pp. 33-38.

4. Published in D. Lampsonius, *Pictorum aliquot celeberrimorum Germaniae effigies*, Antwerp, 1572. Gossart's features 'done from life' are also known from the portrait medal by Hans Schwarz. Cf. M. Bernhart, 'Ein Medaillenportrait des Jan Gossarts von Hans Schwarz', in *Münchener Jahrbuch der Bildenden Kunst*, new series, I, 1924, pp. 263-265.

5. The portrait was seen by A. Buchelius who jotted its inscription in the margin of his copy of *Historia Hollandiae ... et Episcoporum Trajectensium*, Utrecht, 1519. The annotation alone is published in the volume of the *Kroniek* cited by Friedländer.

6. Reprinted in J. Prinsen, *Collectanea van Gerardus Geldenhauer Noviomagus, Kroniek van het historisch Genootschap te Utrecht*, S. III, No. 16, Amsterdam, 1901, pp. 232 ff. Gossart's name also appears in the *Vita*, pp. 235 and 248.

7. See M. Gossart, *Jean Gossart de Maubeuge*, Lille, 1903, p. 31, note 2. It is generally assumed, though it cannot be proven, that this name refers to Gossart.

8. Documents attest to Gossart's activity in Utrecht in 1522. See H.P. Coster, 'Het koperen hek voor het altaar van Sint Maarten in den Dom te Utrecht', in *Bulletin van de Nederlands Oudheidkundige Bond*, S. 2, II, 1909, pp. 217-218; and W. H. Vroom, 'Jan Gossart van Mabuse als ontwerper van koorbanken in de Dom te Utrecht', in *Oud Holland*, LXXIX, 1964, pp. 172-175.

9. See No. 39. The tradition stems from van Mander, but it is not absolutely certain that the work in question reproduces the composition referred to by him.

10. The documents are published by H. Glarbo, 'Dronning Elisabeths Gravmael i Gent', in *Kunstmuseets Aarskrift*, XIII-XV, 1926-28, pp. 67-79; and M.I.J. Deruelle, 'Het Grafmonument van Isabella van Oostenrijk', in *Vlaamsche Kunst, Een Bundel Studies*, Ghent, 1942, pp. 74-91.

11. For the date of Gossart's death, see above Note 3. The documents which gave rise to the confusion in dates are pub-

lished by M. Gossart, *Jean Gossart de Maubeuge*, Lille, 1903, pp. 51-56.

12. Siciliano's presence in Mechlin in 1513 is confirmed by documents. Cf. J. Duverger, 'Nieuwe gegevens betreffende het Breviarium Grimani', in *Annuaire des Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique*, I, 1938, pp. 19-30.

13. The provenance of the *Hermitage Descent* is now established. Van Mander must have seen still another work, possibly the *modello* for the Praemonstatensian altarpiece. For the Leningrad painting, cf. J. Maréchal, *La Chapelle fondée par Pedro de Salamanca, bourgeois de Burgos, chez les Augustins à Bruges, 1513-1805. Académie Royale de Belgique, Classe des Beaux-Arts, Mémoires*, XIII, No. 2, Brussels, 1963, pp. 12-15.

14. The tradition stems from Petrus Opmeer, *Opus Chronographicum orbis universi a mundi exordio usque ad annum MDCXI*, Antwerp, 1611, p. 450b. Opmeer gives a capsule assessment of Gossart's life and mentions two famous works, the Prague painting, and the lost altarpiece Gossart painted for the Praemonstatensian Abbey in Middelburg. No date whatsoever can be inferred from his comments.

15. Friedländer is referring to the 1929 edition of the National Gallery Catalogue. Gossart's authorship is no longer questioned. Cf. now M. Davies, *National Gallery Catalogues. Early Netherlandish School*, 3rd revised edition, London, 1968, pp. 61-62.

16. H. Schwarz, 'Jan Gossart's Adam and Eve Drawings', in *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, S. 6, XLII, 1953, p. 152, felt that the drawing lacked the spontaneity of an original creation.

17. The inscriptions, drawn very lightly in black chalk just to the left of Adam's hip, were first observed in the Catalogue of the Gossart exhibition, Rotterdam-Bruges, 1965, No. 61.

18. J. Bruyn, 'The Jan Gossart Exhibition in Rotterdam and Bruges', in *Burlington Magazine*, CVII, 1965, pp. 462-467, doubted Gossart's authorship of the drawings; he felt that it might be an old copy.

19. The drawing also shows St. John at the age of ninety, descending in his tomb, and, below, an eagle holding a blank coat of arms, with St. John and the donor.

20. The present owner tentatively identifies the subject as *The Anger of Ahasverus*.

21. For the supplements Nos. 28, 29 and 30 to this list of drawings published by Friedländer in his vol. XIV, cf. p. 50. In the meantime some other drawings have been attributed to Gossart:

● Add. 31 (Plate 70). *Virgin and Child with Female Saints*. Rijksprentenkabinet, Amsterdam (417 × 310 mm). Cf. K.G. Boon, 'Maria en het Kind en twee Heiligen door Jan Gossart

getekend', in *Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum*, LI, 1953, pp. 65-71.

● Add. 32. *Adoration of the Magi*. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, R. Lehman collection (280 × 200 mm). Cf. J. Rosenberg, 'Adoration of the Magi', in *Old Master Drawings*, XIII, 1938, pp. 42 ff.

● Add. 33. *Angels Carrying the Symbols of the Passion*. Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Florence, Inv. No. 1691 (240 × 469 mm). Cf. W. König, *Der italienische Einfluss in der flämischen Malerei im ersten Drittel des 16. Jahrhunderts*, Würzburg, 1936, p. 67.

● Add. 34 (Plate 70). *Portrait of Christian II, King of Denmark*. Institut Néerlandais, Paris, F. Lugt collection (268 × 215 mm), Inv. No. 1541. Cf. M. J. Friedländer, 'Bildnisse des Dänenkönigs Christian II', in *Annuaire des Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique*, I, 1938, pp. 89 ff., and Catalogue of the Gossart exhibition, Rotterdam-Bruges, 1965, No. 65.

● Add. 35 (Plate 70). *The Spinario and Other Studies of Roman Antiquities*. Prentenkabinet der Rijksuniversiteit, Leyden, A. Welcker collection (260 × 202 mm). Verso: Helmet à l'antique. Cf. J. G. van Gelder, 'Jan Gossart in Rome 1508-1509', in *Oud-Holland*, LVII, 1942, pp. 5-8.

● Add. 36 (Plate 70). *The Capitoline Hercules*. Lord Wharton collection, London (226 × 107 mm). Trimmed on all sides. Inscribed by a later hand: Juan Mabussen. Cf. J. G. van Gelder, *loc. cit.*, and Catalogue of the Gossart exhibition, Rotterdam-Bruges, 1965, No. 47.

● Add. 37. *Hercules Slaying Eurition*. Rijksprentenkabinet, Amsterdam (370 × 545 mm). Cf. L. von Baldass, 'Die Zeichnung im Schaffen des Hieronymus Bosch und der Frühholänder', in *Die Graphischen Künste*, new series II, 1937, pp. 48 ff. and Catalogue of the Gossart exhibition, Rotterdam-Bruges, 1965, No. 67.

● Add. 38. *Man in Armour*. Kupferstichkabinett, Dresden, Inv. No. C 790 (278 × 168 mm). Inscribed, probably by a later hand: Gosa de Malbodio. Already known to M. Gossart, *Jean Gossart, sa vie et son œuvre*, Lille, 1903, p. 90. Though passed over by Friedländer, the drawing is otherwise uncontested in the literature. Cf. J. Folie, 'Les dessins de Jean Gossaert dit Mabuse', in *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, S. 6, XXXVIII, 1951 (published 1960), No. 3.

● Add. 39. *Male Figure in an Architectural Setting*. C.O. Baer collection, New Rochelle, New York (185 × 90 mm). Inscribed: 1521, probably at a later date. For a review of the literature, cf. Catalogue of the Gossart exhibition, Rotterdam-Bruges, 1965, No. 50.

● Add. 40. *Design for a Monstrance*. The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York (167 × 85 mm). Cf. P. Wescher, 'An Unnoticed Drawing by Jan Gossaert in the Morgan Library', in *Art Quarterly*, XII, 1949, p. 262.

22. Suppl. 28 to the drawings. Now in the Kupferstichkabinett der Staatlichen Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin-Dahlem, Kdz 15 295; 340 × 276 mm. Cf. F. Winkler,

'The Emperor Augustus and the Tiburtine Sibyl', in *Old Master Drawings*, X, 1935, pp. 30-31.

23. Suppl. 29 to the drawings.

24. See footnote 21, Add. 40.

25. German ed.: *ghemacki*.

26. German ed.: SYNE

27. It is noteworthy that Friedländer does not mention the *Notre-Dame du Sablon* series. Cf. M. Crick-Kuntziger, *La Tenture de Notre-Dame du Sablon*, Antwerp, 1942. The attribution of this series to van Orley is questioned by E. Dhannens, 'Jan van Roome alias van Brussel, Schilder', in *Gentse Bijdragen tot de Kunstgeschiedenis*, XI, 1945-1948, pp. 110-113. We are indebted to Mr. J. P. Asselberghs, of the Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, Brussels, for the information concerning the present location of the tapestries.

28. Now in the National Gallery, Washington (D.C.), Inv. No. C 302.

29. Now in the National Gallery, Washington (D.C.), Inv. No. C 301.

30. From the Widener collection, since 1942 in the National Gallery, Washington (D.C.), Inv. No. C 300.

31. Now in the R. Lehman collection, New York.

32. Now in the Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, Brussels, Inv. Nos. 8584-8593.

33. Now in the City Art Museum of St. Louis (Mo.), Inv. No. 343; 55.

34. Now in the collection of the 'Immobilier Österreich', Antwerp.

35. Now in the Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire.

36. Inv. No. 2716.

37. Vol. XII, No. 34.

38. On the Master of the Magdalene Legend, see German ed., Vol. XII, pp. 15-24.

39. Inv. No. 2591; 43 × 52.5 cm. Another version of this composition is in the church of Steenockerzeel near Brussels. Cf. J. de Borchgrave d'Altena, *Notes pour servir à l'inventaire des œuvres d'art du Brabant. Arrondissement de Bruxelles*, Brussels, 1947, p. 189.

40. German ed.: *Cornelis*.

41. The photographs were taken by M. R. Versteegen, of the Institut Royal du Patrimoine Artistique, on the occasion of the first scientific expedition led by Mrs. Gh. Derveaux, first assistant at the Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire in Brussels, to study the carved altarpieces from Brabant in Sweden.

42. Each shutter measures: 166 × 92.5 cm.

43. Signed on the *Presentation*: IAN VAN CONINXLO.

44. No. 109: triptych with the *Legend of St. Anne*, Inv. No. 338; 114.5 × 74 — 149 × 162 — 115 × 74 cm, signed and dated JAN VAN CONINXLO 1546. No. 110a: left shutter of a triptych, *Christ among the Doctors*, Inv. No. 342; 135 × 78 cm. Signed IC IAN VAN CONINXLO. No. 110b: right shutter of a triptych, *The Marriage at Cana*, Inv. No. 341; 135 × 78.5 cm. On the verso of these two shutters *The Feeding of the Ten*

Thousand. No. 880: *The Nativity of the Virgin*, on the verso *The Presentation*, Inv. No. 3235; 84 × 45 cm, signed and dated JAN VAN CONIXLO 1530.

45. A free copy attributed by Friedländer to the Master of the Antwerp Crucifixion is listed in the German ed., Vol. XI, No. 58, Pl. XXVII. See also Vol. VII, No. 137 (Master of Frankfurt); on the relationship between this work and Gossart's Lisbon painting, see G. Glück, 'Mabuse and the Development of the Flemish Renaissance', in *Art Quarterly*, VIII, 1945, pp. 57 ff.

45a. No tower is present, which makes it unlikely that St. Barbara is depicted. The flower wreath, on the other hand, suggests that St. Dorothy is portrayed.

46. In the German edition.

47. Also listed by Friedländer in Vol. XI, No. 134.

48. Also listed by Friedländer in Vol. XI, No. 134a.

49. It is now generally agreed that the writer's name was Marc Anton Michiel, or Marcantonio Michaeli.

50. The difference in dimensions was noted by J. Bruyn, 'The Jan Gossart Exhibition in Rotterdam and Bruges', in *Burlington Magazine*, CVII, 1965, pp. 462 ff. The variations are hardly significant.

51. The inscriptions cited by Friedländer are on the original frame and there are others as well; for these, cf. Catalogue of the Gossart exhibition, Rotterdam-Bruges, 1965, No. 11.

52. For the inscriptions on the verso, cf. Catalogue of the Gossart exhibition, Rotterdam-Bruges, 1965, No. 27.

53. The first sale of King William's pictures took place on 21st August 1850. The shutters (Nos. 36, 37) were bought by Roos, one of the sponsors of the auction. They were offered for auction at the second sale which took place on 9th September 1851 (Nos. 21, 22), and were bought by Brondgeest, once again one of the sponsors of the auction. The shutters were engraved by A. L. Zeelander in 1848. Cf. G. Isarlo, 'Jan Gossaert, dit Mabuse. Tableaux inconnus', in *Arts*, 31st jan. 1947, p. 1.

54. Both shutters are trimmed at the top (about 25 cm are missing). They may have been part of a triptych with the *Descent from the Cross* in the Hermitage (No. 18), as first suggested by J. Held, 'Überzicht der Literatuur betreffende Nederlandsche Kunst', in *Oud-Holland*, I, 1933, pp. 133 ff. This is borne out by the fact that both of the shutters and the *Descent* have been traced back to the Salamanca Chapel of the Augustin Church in Bruges. Cf. J. Maréchal, *La Chapelle fondée par Pedro de Salamanca, bourgeois de Burgos, chez les Augustins à Bruges, 1513-1805. Académie Royale de Belgique, Classe des Beaux-Arts, Mémoires*, XIII, Brussels, 1963. For a complete reading of the inscriptions, see Catalogue of the Gossart exhibition, Rotterdam-Bruges, 1965, No. 14.

55. The 1964 Grunewald catalogue lists the panel as a copy? This was the opinion of G. Glück (see Note 45 above), who also drew attention to an entry in an inventory made for Margaret of Austria dated on 17th April 1524,

which seems to describe this work, or the original from which it was copied. Cf. Catalogue of the Gossart exhibition, Rotterdam-Bruges, 1965, Doc. Nos. 14a-b.

56. This reading is misleading. The signatures appear in two places, and are given, along with the remainder, in M. Davies, *National Gallery Catalogues. Early Netherlandish School*, 3rd revised edition, London, 1968, pp. 63-64.

57. Possibly the central panel of a triptych with No. 22 as the shutters. First suggested by W. Suida, *Paintings and Sculptures from the Kress Collection, 1945-1951*, Washington (D.C.), 1951, No. 87, p. 198. The proposal was endorsed by subsequent authorities.

58. See Vol. XII, No. 59.

59. Not inverted, as asserted by Friedländer.

60. See Vol. XII, No. 59a.

61. See above, Note 53.

62. See above, Note 54.

63. Now again separated into two panels; the composition as known to Friedländer was discovered to be the work of a later hand, when the painting was cleaned by Mario Modestini in 1949. Cf. now S. Herzog, 'Gossart, Italy, and the National Gallery's *St. Jerome Penitent*', in *National Gallery of Art, Report and Studies on the History of Art*, III, June 1969, pp. 58-73. For connections with No. 13, see above, Note 57.

64. For the inscriptions, cf. Catalogue of the Gossart exhibition, Rotterdam-Bruges, 1965, No. 12. For the transcription of the entry, cf. *ibid.*, Doc. No. 51c.

65. The painting's history, and further inscriptions, are given in the Catalogue of the Gossart exhibition, Rotterdam-Bruges, 1965, No. 9; and Doc. No. 39a gives the text of Opmeerus, who is responsible for the traditional dating. For the painting's iconography, cf. E. de Jongh, 'Speculaties over Jan Gossaerts Lucasmadonna in Praag', in *Bulletin Museum Boymans-van Beuningen*, XIX, 1968, pp. 43-61.

66. M. Davies, *National Gallery Catalogues. Early Netherlandish School*, 3rd revised edition, London, 1968, p. 66, proposes that the panel may be a youthful work of one of Gossart's pupils.

67. Cf. J. de Coe, *Museum Mayer van den Bergh, Catalogus I: Schilderijen, etc.*, Antwerp, 1967, No. 385, p. 62, and also Catalogue of the Gossart exhibition, Rotterdam-Bruges, 1965, Nos. 35 and 36.

68. For bibliography, cf. N. Verhaegen, *Le Siècle de Bruegel*, Brussels, 1963, No. 115. Another copy is in London: cf. M. Davies, *National Gallery Catalogues. Early Netherlandish School*, 3rd revised edition, London, 1968, No. 1888.

69. According to a photo at the Rijksbureau voor Kunst-historische Documentatie, The Hague, Steinmeyer Gallery.

70. Another version at the Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique, Brussels (34.5 × 27.5 cm; Inv. No. 6706) has been published by P. Fierens, 'Une nouvelle Madone de Gossart', in *Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts [de Belgique]*, Bulletin, III, 1954, pp. 91-100.

71. Probably the lost picture from the Berlin museum

mentioned by M. Bernhard and K. Martin, *Verlorene Werke der Malerei. In Deutschland in der Zeit von 1939 bis 1945 zerstörte und verschollene Gemälde aus Museen und Galerien*, Munich, 1965, p. 24.

72. Cf. E. Brunelli, *L'Arte*, ix, 1906, pp. 296 ff.

73. The present owners identify the coats-of-arms as those of Charles V and his queen, Isabella of Portugal. The couple were married in 1526, which would establish a *terminus post quem* for this work.

74. Friedländer's identification as *Venus and Cupid* is erroneous; only the female figure is shown, and she is obviously a *Vanitas*.

74a. In the German edition the painting was identified as *Hercules and Omphale*.

75. The letters are more likely F-E (with the E written in reverse—the letters are intertwined in an entrelac, hence a concern for symmetry), opening up the possibility of the subject being Floris van Egmond, which Friedländer suggests, then rejects because of his reading of the initials.

76. Read A[V]TRE QUE VOV[S].

77. For the sitter's identity, cf. Catalogue of the Gossart exhibition, Rotterdam-Bruges, 1965, No. 38.

78. The *Lucretia* is no longer on the reverse of this panel.

79. Assuming that the date 1534 is not a later addition, the *Lucretia*, at least, could not have been painted by Gossart, who died in 1532.

80. H. Schwarz, 'Jan Gossart's Adam and Eve Drawings', in *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, S. 6, XLII, 1953, p. 167, proposes to identify Adam as a self-portrait. Cf. also Catalogue of the Gossart exhibition, Rotterdam-Bruges, 1965, No. 33.

81. The panel is now attributed to Michael Sittow. Cf. *Schilderijen en beeldhouwwerken, 15e en 16e eeuw, Catalogus I, Koninklijk Kabinet van Schilderijen Mauritshuis*, The Hague, 1968, p. 50.

82. Gossart's authorship is questioned by N. Verhaegen, *Le Siècle de Bruegel*, Brussels, 1963, No. 116; the author also discusses the discovery of important *pentimenti* revealed by x-ray photographs.

83. The same picture as No. 68b.

84. In 1922 at Duveen Brothers.

85. Regarding the identification of the sitter, cf. M. Davies, *National Gallery Catalogues. Early Netherlandish School*, 3rd revised edition, London, 1968, p. 61.

86. There is no way to be certain that the monk is a Benedictine.

87. The same panel was listed by Friedländer as Marinus van Reymerswaele in Vol. XII, No. 171. Cf. G. von der Osten, 'Studien zu Jan Gossaert', in *De Artibus Opuscula* x I, *Essays in Honor of Erwin Panofsky*, New York, 1961, pp. 474 ff., and Add. 164.

88. Regarding the girl's identity, cf. M. Davies, *National Gallery Catalogues. Early Netherlandish School*, 3rd revised edition, London, 1968, pp. 62-63, and Catalogue of the Gossart exhibition, Rotterdam-Bruges, 1965, No. 19.

89. Cf. L. Hauteceur, *Catalogue de la Galerie des Beaux-Arts*, Geneva, 1948, p. 31.

90. German ed.: SYN.

91. Exhibited under Nos. 203 and 204.

92. Cf. also G. de Tervarent, 'Les sources littéraires de Van Orley', in *Les énigmes de l'Art du Moyen-Age*, 2nd series, *Art Flamand*, Paris, 1941, pp. 55-57. See Editor's Note.

93. The versos of these two panels closely resemble the two preceding ones. Each shows an abbot's staff with a bannerole and a small panel, a *Man of Sorrows* on the verso of the *Birth of St. John* and a *Portrait of an Abbot* on the verso of the *Beheading of St. John*. The latter was cut apart and auctioned on 23rd-25th January 1947 at Parke-Bernet, New York (39 × 24.5 cm). On the verso of the panel with *St. Martin Knighted*, now at Kansas City, only the *Virgin and Child* has been preserved.

94. According to L. Baldass, 'Die Entwicklung des Bernart van Orley', in *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien*, new series, XIII, 1944, p. 173, this panel may have been a part of the same ensemble as No. 107.

95. See Note 94.

96. Also identified as *The Preaching of St. Ambrosius*. Cf. L. Baldass, 'Die Entwicklung des Bernart van Orley', in *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien*, new series, XIII, 1944, p. 147.

97. German ed.: the left panel.

98. See German ed., Vol. XI, p. 126.

99. The same picture as No. 135a.

100. Probably the picture (77 × 51 cm) sold at Lempertz, Cologne, on 29th November-6th December 1968, No. 18.

101. Read: ORLEIVS.

102. Measurements within the frame.

103. The right panel of a diptych, the left panel of which is listed under No. 134.

104. In the German edition.

105. On the back Carondelet's device and coat of arms.

106. The catalogue of the Dresden gallery (1961) gives 1521 or 1527.

107. Attribution of this panel to Gossart has been called into question on a number of occasions. For a summary of opinions, cf. Catalogue of the Gossart exhibition, Rotterdam-Bruges, 1965, No. 2.

108. Cf. J. Folie, 'Un tableau mythologique de Gossart dans les collections de Marguerite d'Autriche', in *Bulletin de l'Institut Royal du Patrimoine Artistique*, III, 1960, pp. 195-200.

109. Cf. G. von der Osten, 'Studien zu Jan Gossaert', in *De Artibus Opuscula* XL, *Essays in Honor of Erwin Panofsky*, New York, 1961, p. 457, Pl. 156, Fig. 8. Another version of this *Lucretia* (46 × 36 cm), in the H. List collection, Munich, has been published by G. Glück, 'Mabuse and the Development of the Flemish Renaissance', in *Art Quarterly*, VIII, 1945, pp. 133-136, and Fig. 10. On this theme, see also D. Schubert, 'Halbfigurige Lucretia-Tafeln der 1. Hälfte

- des 16. Jahrhunderts in den Niederlanden', in *Kunsthistorisches Jahrbuch der Universität Graz*, VI, 1971, pp. 99-110.
110. Cf. also J.M. March, 'Juanin Gossart, Nota sobre el retrato de Don Juan de Zuñiga y Avellaneda', in *Boletín de la Sociedad Española de Excursiones*, LIII, 1949, pp. 219-221.
111. A replica of No. 73. Scholars today consider the Philadelphia version to be a weaker copy.
112. The man here depicted is the same one portrayed in No. 62.
113. Also published by L. Baldass, 'Die Entwicklung des Bernart van Orley', in *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien*, new series, XIII, 1944, p. 149.
114. G. Glück, 'Mabuse and the Development of the Flemish Renaissance', in *Art Quarterly*, VIII, 1945, pp. 116-138.
115. H. Schwarz, 'Jan Gossart's Adam and Eve Drawings', in *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, S. 6, XLII, 1953, pp. 145-182.
116. A. Mayer-Meintschel, 'Die Dresdener Schmerzensmannstafel', in *Festschrift Johannes Jahn*, Leipzig, 1942; cf. also G. Rudloff-Hille, 'Das Bild des leidenden Heilands nach Jan Gossart genannt Mabuse im National Museum in Krakow, Untersuchung zur Ikonographie und Verbreitung des Werkes', in *Rozprawy i Sprawozdania Muzeum Narodowego w Krakowie*, D 9, 1967, pp. 97-110.
117. G. Marlier, *Erasmus et la peinture flamande de son temps*, Damme, 1954.
118. G. Brom, 'Vernieuwing van onze Schilderkunst in de vroege Renaissance', in *Geneesche Bijdragen tot de Kunstgeschiedenis*, VII, 1941, pp. 7-36.
119. G. von der Osten, 'Studien zu Jan Gossart', in *De Artibus Opuscula XL, Essays in Honor of Erwin Panofsky*, ed. by M. Meiss, New York, 1961, pp. 454-475.
120. H. R. Weihrauch, *Europäische Bronzestatuetten des 15.-18. Jahrhunderts*, Brunswick, 1967, p. 461.
121. J. G. van Gelder, 'Jan Gossart in Rome, 1508-1509', in *Oud Holland*, LVII, 1942, pp. 1 ff.
122. F. Winkler, 'The Emperor Augustus and the Tiburtine Sibyl, Berlin Print Room', in *Old Master Drawings*, X, 1935, pp. 30-31.
123. W. Krönig, *Der italienische Einfluss in der flämischen Malerei im ersten Drittel des 16. Jahrhunderts*, Würzburg, 1936.
124. L. von Baldass, 'Die Zeichnung im Schaffen des Hieronymus Bosch und der Frühholänder', in *Die Graphischen Künste*, new series, II, 1937, pp. 48-57.
125. J. Rosenberg, 'Adoration of the Magi', in *Old Master Drawings*, XIII, 1938, p. 42.
126. P. Wescher, 'An Unnoticed Drawing in the Morgan Library', in *Art Quarterly*, XII, 1949, p. 262.
127. K. G. Boon, 'Maria en het Kind en twee Heiligen door Jan Gossaert getekend', in *Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum*, LI, 1953, pp. 65-71.
128. M. J. Friedländer, 'Bildnisse des Dänenkönigs Christian II.', in *Annuaire des Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de*

Belgique, I, 1938, pp. 19-30.

129. See footnote 21, Add. 34 to the drawings.

130. J. Folie, 'Les dessins de Jean Gossaert dit Mabuse, avec catalogue', in *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, S. 6, XXXVIII, 1951 (published 1960), pp. 77-98.

131. D. A. Iñiguez, 'La Sagrada Familia del Convento de Cuerva, por Gossart, Miscelánea de primitivos flamencos y españoles', in *Archivo Español de Arte y Arqueología*, XXXIX, 1937, pp. 194-197.

132. E. P. Richardson, 'A Cistercian Abbot by Mabuse', in *Bulletin, Detroit Institute of Arts*, XXIV, 1945, p. 57. This work bears the date 1535, and cannot therefore be by Gossart.

133. A. Luisiag-Boschenka, 'Un Gossart inconnu?' in *Bulletin, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique*, XIV, 1965, pp. 35-48.

134. See above, Note 108.

135. Apart from Friedländer's discussion, cf. also Glück and von der Osten, Notes 114 and 119, above.

136. N. Verhaegen, 'Note à propos de Jean Gossaert et d'une Tentation de Saint Antoine', in *Miscellanea Erwin Panofsky, Bulletin van de Koninklijke Musea voor Schone Kunsten van België*, 1955, p. 175.

137. C. van Hasselt, *Le seizième siècle européen, Peintures et dessins dans les Collections Publiques Françaises*, Paris, 1965-66, No. 156.

138. F. Winkler, 'Aus der ersten Schaffenszeit des Jan Gossart', in *Pantheon*, III, 1962, pp. 145-156.

139. P. Pieper, 'Ein neues Dreikönigenbild im Kölner Dom', in *Kölner Domblatt, Jahrbuch des Zentral-Dombauvereins*, XX, 1961-62, pp. 137-150.

139a. P. Wescher, 'Neue Beiträge zum Schaffen des Jan Gossart', in *Wallraf-Richartz-Jahrbuch*, XXXII, 1970, pp. 99-112.

140. A. Staring, 'Rondom twee portretten door Jan Gossart van Mabuse', in *Oud Holland*, LXVII, 1952, pp. 144-156.

141. J. M. March, 'Nota sobre el retrato de Don Juan de Zuñiga y Avellaneda', in *Boletín de la Sociedad Española de Excursiones*, LIII, pp. 219-221.

142. Catalogue of the Gossart exhibition, Rotterdam-Bruges, 1965, No. 35.

143. See above Note 141, footnote 1.

144. J. K. Steppe, 'Het Sterfjaar van Jan Gossaert', in Catalogue of the Gossart exhibition, Rotterdam-Bruges, 1965, pp. 33-38.

145. J. Duverger, 'Nieuwe gegevens betreffende het Brevarium Grimaldi', in *Annuaire des Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique*, I, 1938, pp. 19-30.

146. M. I. J. Deruelle, 'Het Grafmonument van Isabella van Oostenrijk', in *Vlaamse Kunst, Een Bundel Studies*, Ghent, 1942, pp. 74-91.

147. H. Glarbo, 'Dronning Elizabeths Gravmael i Gent', in *Kunstmuseets Aarskrift*, XIII-XIV, 1926-28, pp. 67-79.

148. J. Maréchal, *La chapelle fondée par Pedro de Salamanca, bourgeois de Burgos, chez les Augustins à Bruges, 1513-1805*,

Académie Royale de Belgique, Classe des Beaux-Arts, Mémoires, xiii, Brussels, 1963, pp. 11-15.

149. J. Bruyn, 'The Jan Gossart Exhibition in Rotterdam and Bruges', in *Burlington Magazine*, cvii, 1965, p. 462 ff.

150. J. Bruyn and O. Millar, 'Notes on the Royal Collection, III: The "Dutch Gift" to Charles I', in *Burlington Magazine*, civ, 1962, pp. 291-94.

151. H. de Vocht (ed.), *Litterae virorum eruditorum ad Franciscum Craneveldium*, Louvain, 1928, p. 24.

152. W. H. Vroom, 'Jan Gossaert van Mabuse als ontwerper van koorbanken in de Dom van Utrecht', in *Oud-Holland*, lxxix, 1964, pp. 172-175.

153. A. Montballeu, 'Bij de interpretatie en de datering van J. Gossaert's Lucas en de Madonna uit Mechelen', in *Miscellanea Jozef Duverger*, Ghent, 1968, pp. 125-138.

154. H. Pauwels, 'Jan Gossaert en Jan van Eyck', in *Bulletin Museum Boymans-van Beuningen*, xix, 1968, pp. 5-15.

155. J. Duverger, 'Jan Gossaert te Antwerpen', in *Bulletin Museum Boymans-van Beuningen*, xix, 1968, pp. 16-24.

156. H. Pauwels, H. R. Hoetink and S. Herzog, *Jan Gossaert genaamd Mabuse (Jean Gossaert dit Mabuse)*. [Catalogue of the exhibition.] Rotterdam-Bruges, 1965.

157. See Note 144 above; J. K. Steppe, 'Schilderijen van Jan Gossaert in de voormalige Abdij van Sint-Adrianus te Geraardsbergen', in Catalogue of the Gossaert exhibition, Rotterdam-Bruges, 1965, pp. 39-46.

158. *Le Siècle de Bruegel*, Brussels, 1963, Nos. 105-115.

159. M. Davies, *National Gallery Catalogues. Early Netherlandish School*, 3rd revised edition, London, 1968.

160. *Bulletin Museum Boymans-van Beuningen*, xix, 1968; see Notes 153 and 154; and W. Krönig, 'Gossaert's Lukas Madonnen', pp. 62-72; M. Smeyers, 'Een Schilderij van Jan Gossaert in het bezit van Aartshertogin Isabella', pp. 73-75; M. Smeyers, 'De Leuvense Schilder Hendrik Vander Heyden, Schoonzoon van Jan Gossaert', in pp. 76-116.

161. S. Herzog, 'Tradition and Innovation in Gossaert's Neptune and Amphitrite and Danae', in *Bulletin Museum Boymans-van Beuningen*, xix, 1968, pp. 25-41.

162. E. de Jongh, 'Speculaties over Jan Gossaerts Lucas-madonna te Praag', in *Bulletin Museum Boymans-van Beuningen*, xix, 1968, pp. 42-61. On this painting cf. also C. Müller-Hofstede, 'Bemerkungen zur Lukas-Madonna von Jan Gossaert in Prag', in *Miscellanea I. Q. van Regteren Altena*, Amsterdam, 1969, pp. 39-43.

163. Publications concerning van Orley's tapestries and stained-glass have not been considered here.

164. No catalogue of this exhibition was published. It was reviewed by M. Crick-Kuntziger, 'L'exposition Bernard van Orley', in *Bulletin des Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire*, xiv, No. 4, 1942, pp. 94-96. *Idem*, 'L'exposition Bernard van Orley aux Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire', in *Bulletin du Secours d'Hiver*, No. 8, 1942, pp. 9-13.

165. Various authors, *Bernard van Orley, 1488-1541*, Brussels, 1943. (Ch. Terlinden, 'Bernard van Orley et son

temps'; J. Lavalleye, 'Le style du peintre Bernard van Orley'; M. Crick-Kuntziger, 'Bernard van Orley et le décor mural en tapisserie'; H. Velge, 'Les compositions religieuses de Bernard van Orley'; J. Helbig, 'Bernard van Orley et la peinture sur verre au xvi^e siècle'; J. Maquet-Tombu, 'Bernard van Orley et son entourage'; O. Le Maire, 'Renseignements nouveaux sur Bernard van Orley et sa famille'; J. de Borchgrave d'Altena, 'La sculpture à l'époque de Bernard van Orley.') See also: S. Sulzberger, 'Bernard van Orley. Publication de la Société royale d'Archéologie de Bruxelles', in *Revue Belge d'Archéologie et d'Histoire de l'Art*, xiv, 1944, p. 100, and A. van der Boom, 'Nieuwe van Orley-studies', in *Oudheidkundig jaarboek*, iv, Vol. XII, 1943, pp. 58-62.

166. H. Velge, *op. cit.*, pp. 95-117.

167. J. Lavalleye, *op. cit.*, pp. 43-70.

168. O. Le Maire, *op. cit.*, pp. 167-189.

169. L. Baldass, 'Die Entwicklung des Bernart van Orley', in *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien*, new series, xiii, 1944, pp. 141-191.

170. Among the paintings not mentioned by Friedländer are: *Christ on the Mount of Olives*, Öffentliche Kunstsammlung, Basle (58.5 × 53 cm, Inv. No. 1379); *Fons Vitae*, Santa Casa da Misericórdia, Porto (267 × 210 cm, attributed to Colyn de Coter by L. Reis-Santos, 'Obras-Primas da Pintura Flamenga dos Séculos xv e xvi em Portugal', Lisbon, 1953, No. 35, pp. 79-81); *Portrait of a Young Man*, private collection, Vienna; *Virgin and Child*, private collection, Vienna; *Portrait of a Man*, Weinberger sale, 1929, Vienna; *Holy Family*, private collection, Reutlingen; *Scenes from the life of St. Quentin*, private collection, Brussels, there attributed to van Orley's studio (106 × 94 cm; cf. also L. Lavalleye, 'Un cabinet d'Amateur. Catalogue raisonné de la Peinture. xv^e et xvi^e siècles', in *Bulletin de la Société Royale d'Archéologie de Bruxelles*, 1937, p. 79); *Adoration of the Kings*, art market, Vienna, dated 1533; *Rest during the Flight to Egypt*, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum (112 × 71 cm; Cat. No. 766); *Portrait of a Man*, Detroit, Institute of Arts.

171. H. Wayment, 'A rediscovered Master; Adrian van den Houte of Malines (c. 1459-1521) and the Malines/Brussels school. III. Adrian's development and his relation with Bernard van Orley', in *Oud-Holland*, lxxxiv, 1969 pp. 266-268.

172. Guy de Tervarent, 'Les sources littéraires de van Orley', in *Enigmes de l'Art du Moyen-Age*, 2nd series, *Art Flamand*, Paris, 1941, pp. 55-72.

173. *Ibid.*, pp. 55-57.

174. *Ibid.*, pp. 59-61.

175. *Ibid.*, pp. 63-70; cf. also Guy de Tervarent, 'Que représente le van Orley du Musée de Turin?' in *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 6^e pér., xviii, 1937, pp. 61-68.

176. P. Lefèvre, 'Obsèques et sépultures d'artistes à Bruxelles au xvi^e siècle', in *Pictura*, i, 1945, pp. 39-41.

177. 'A Propos des donateurs du triptyque Haneton conservé aux Musées royaux de peinture de Bruxelles', in

Pictura, 1, No. 4, 1945, pp. 126-130.

178. P. Lefèvre, 'Une précision sur le décès et le tombeau de Georges Zelle, médecin de Charles Quint (1491-1567)', in *Pictura*, 1, No. 2, 1945, p. 42.

179. L. Indestege, 'Boekbanden uit het bezit van de Brusselse Dokter Joris van Zelle', in *Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts [de Belgique]. Bulletin*, III, 1954, pp. 149-162.

180. L. Elaut, 'Persoonlijke analyse van een Brusselse geneesheer uit de zestiende eeuw, op grond van zijn boeken-bezit', in *Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique, Bulletin*, xvii, 1968, pp. 137-144.

181. Ch. deMaeyer, 'A Propos d'un Portrait de Marguerite d'Autriche', in *Apollo* [Bruxelles], No. 1, 1941, pp. 10-12.

182. G. Glück, 'Bildnisse aus dem Hause Habsburg. III. Kaiser Karl v.', in *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien*, new series, xi, 1937, p. 166.

183. G. Glück, 'Portraetter af Christian II og Hans Hustru Isabella', in *Kunstmuseets Aarskrift*, xxvii, 1940, pp. 8-11.

184. M. J. Friedländer, 'Bernaert van Orley', in *Jahrbuch der Königlich Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, xxx, 1909, p. 105.

185. See also: B. Marconi, 'Uzupełnienie Artykułu o Galerii Sulkowskich w Rydzynie', in *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki*, xx, 1958, pp. 381-382.

186. G. Lindqvist, 'Altårskapsmålningar av Bernard van Orley i Nordingrå', in *Konsthistorisk Tidskrift*, xxx, 1961, pp. 1-13. It is noteworthy that J. Roosval considered the shutters to be the work of a mediocre imitator of the Master of Güstrow (Cf. J. Roosval, 'Retables d'origine néerlandaise dans les pays nordiques', in *Revue belge d'Archéologie et d'Histoire de l'Art*, III, 1933, p. 145).

187. E. Foncke, 'Aantekeningen betreffende Hiëronymus Busleyden', in *Gentsche Bijdragen tot de Kunstgeschiedenis*, v, 1938, pp. 209-219.

188. E. Dhanens, 'Jan van Roome, alias van Brussel, Schilder', in *Gentse Bijdragen tot de Kunstgeschiedenis*, xi, 1945-

1948, pp. 117-118. In this publication (pp. 126-128), E. Dhanens examines relations between Jan van Roome and Bernart van Orley.

189. I. Schlégl, 'Ein Beitrag zur Ikonographie König Ludwig II. von Ungarn', in *Miscellanea Jozef Duverger*, 1, Ghent, 1968, pp. 153-168.

190. Guy de Tervarent, 'Que représente le van Orley du Musée de Turin?' in *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 6th period, xviii, 1937, pp. 67-68; *Idem*, 'Les sources littéraires de van Orley', in *Enigmes de l'Art du Moyen-Age*, 2nd series, *Art Flamand*, Paris, 1941, p. 72.

191. C. Tulpinck, 'Le Triptyque "Le Calvaire" de l'Eglise Saint-Nicolas à Furnes', in *Bulletin des Commissions Royales d'Art et d'Archéologie*, lxxvi, 1937, pp. 112-115. W. Krönig, *Der italienische Einfluss in der flämischen Malerei im ersten Drittel des 16. Jahrhunderts. Beiträge zum Beginn der Renaissance in der Malerei der Niederlande*, Würzburg, 1936, pp. 91-92, gives this triptych to P. Coecke.

192. N. Verhaegen, 'Revers de volets peints révélés par radiographie', in *Bulletin de l'Institut Royal du Patrimoine Artistique*, 1, 1958, pp. 96-102.

193. J. Maquet-Tombu, 'Bernard van Orley et son entourage', in *Bernard van Orley, 1488-1541*, Brussels, 1943, pp. 145-146.

194. *Idem*, 'Les van Coninxlo et les abbayes bénédictines', in *Apollo* [Brussels], III, 1943, No. 23, pp. 16-21; No. 25, pp. 16-21.

195. P. Lefèvre, 'Obsèques et sépultures d'artistes à Bruxelles au XVI^e siècle', in *Pictura*, 1, 1945, pp. 39-42; *Idem*, 'Travaux exécutés à la collégiale Sainte-Gudule à Bruxelles par les Peintres Corneille Coninxloo Père et Fils', in *Pictura*, 1, 1945, pp. 90-93.

196. To be published in the *Bulletin de l'Institut Royal du Patrimoine Artistique*, Brussels.

197. M.-A. D., 'Le Polyptyque de l'église Saint-Denis à Forest', in *Brabant*, II, 1970, pp. 22-25.

Index of Places

- G. = Jan Gossart
O. = Bernart van Orley
C. = Copy
J.v.C. = Jan van Coninxloo
C.v.C. = Cornelis van Coninxloo
M.G. = Master of Güstrow

Numbers refer to the Catalogues, unless stated differently.

AMSTERDAM, Rijksmuseum

Virgin and Child: 136a.

See also THE HAGUE, Mauritshuis, on loan from the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam (54)

—, Rijksprentenkabinet

G. Drawing. Virgin and Child with Female Saints: Add. 31.
See footnote 21

—, Hoogendijk collection, see AMSTERDAM, Rijksmuseum (136a)

—, Mrs. Wetzlar collection

G. Portrait of a Woman: 77

O. Shutter, Virgin Surrounded by Saints: 92. See also KANSAS CITY, Mo., Nelson Gallery-Atkins Museum, The H. J. Haskell Bequest, LISBON, Dr. Ricardo Espírito Santo Silva collection, AMSTERDAM, Art market (P. de Boer, 1938), and NEW YORK, Art market (Parke-Bernet, 23rd-24th January 1947)

—, Art market (P. de Boer, 1938)

O. Shutter, Birth of St. John the Baptist: 92. See also KANSAS CITY, Mo., Nelson Gallery-Atkins Museum, The H. J. Haskell Bequest, AMSTERDAM, Mrs. Wetzlar collection, LISBON, Dr. Ricardo Espírito Santo Silva collection, and NEW YORK, Art market (Parke-Bernet, 23rd-24th January 1947)

—, Art market (Goudstikker), see THE HAGUE, Mauritshuis (29); and ST. LOUIS, Mo., City Art Museum of St. Louis (43)

—, Art market (Muller, 9th November 1940)

O. Portrait of the Regent Margaret: (133)

ANTWERP, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten

G.C. Mocking of Christ: 14b

G. Portrait of a Gentleman: 59

O. Altarpiece of The Last Judgment and The Seven Mercies: 87

O. Mater Dolorosa with the Seven Sorrows of Mary: 95

O.C. Portrait of Margaret of Austria: 151e

—, Mayer van den Bergh Museum

G. Magdalene: 26

—, Art market (Hartveld, 1931), see MAESTRICHT, Bonnefantemuseum (Suppl. 158)

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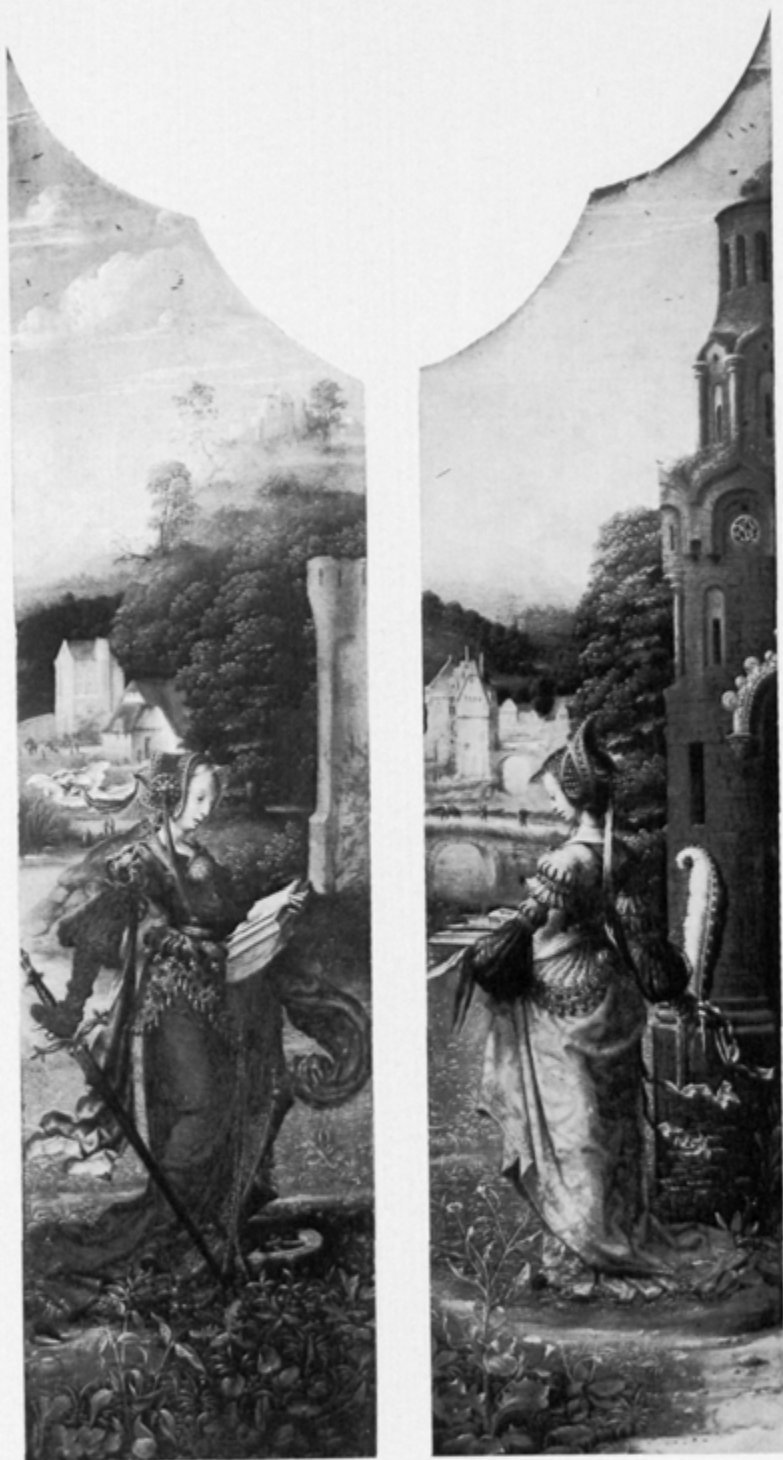
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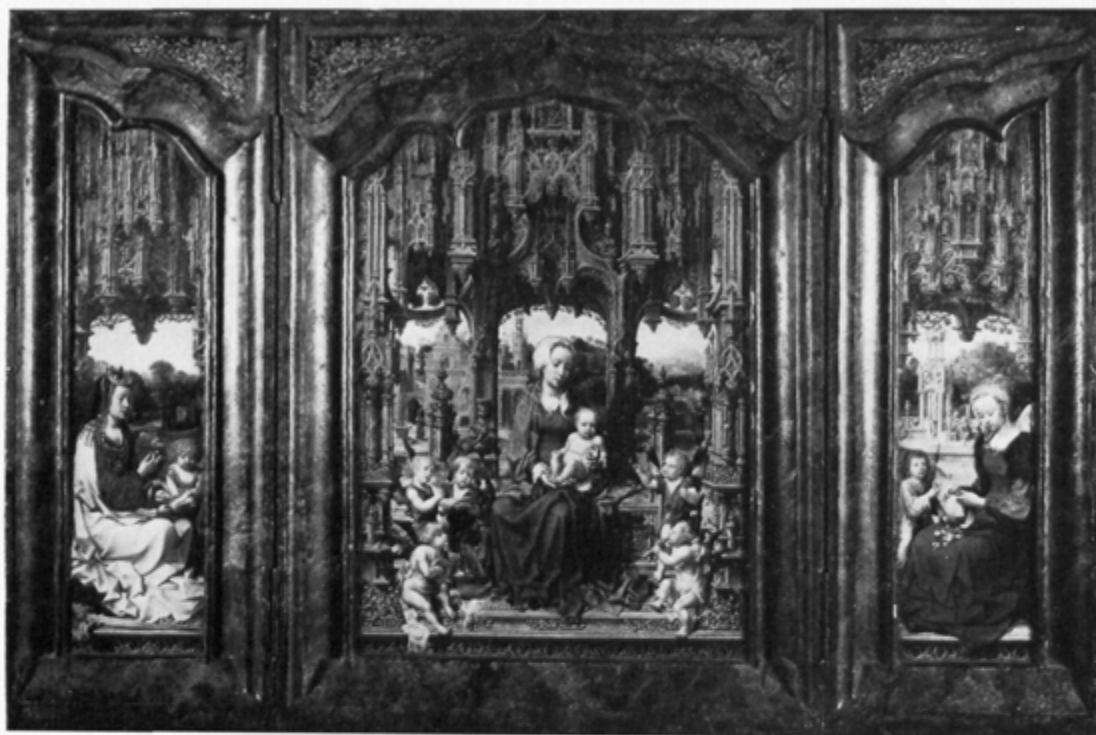
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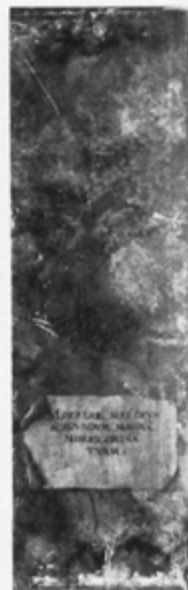
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18. J. Gossart. Deposition. Leningrad, The Hermitage



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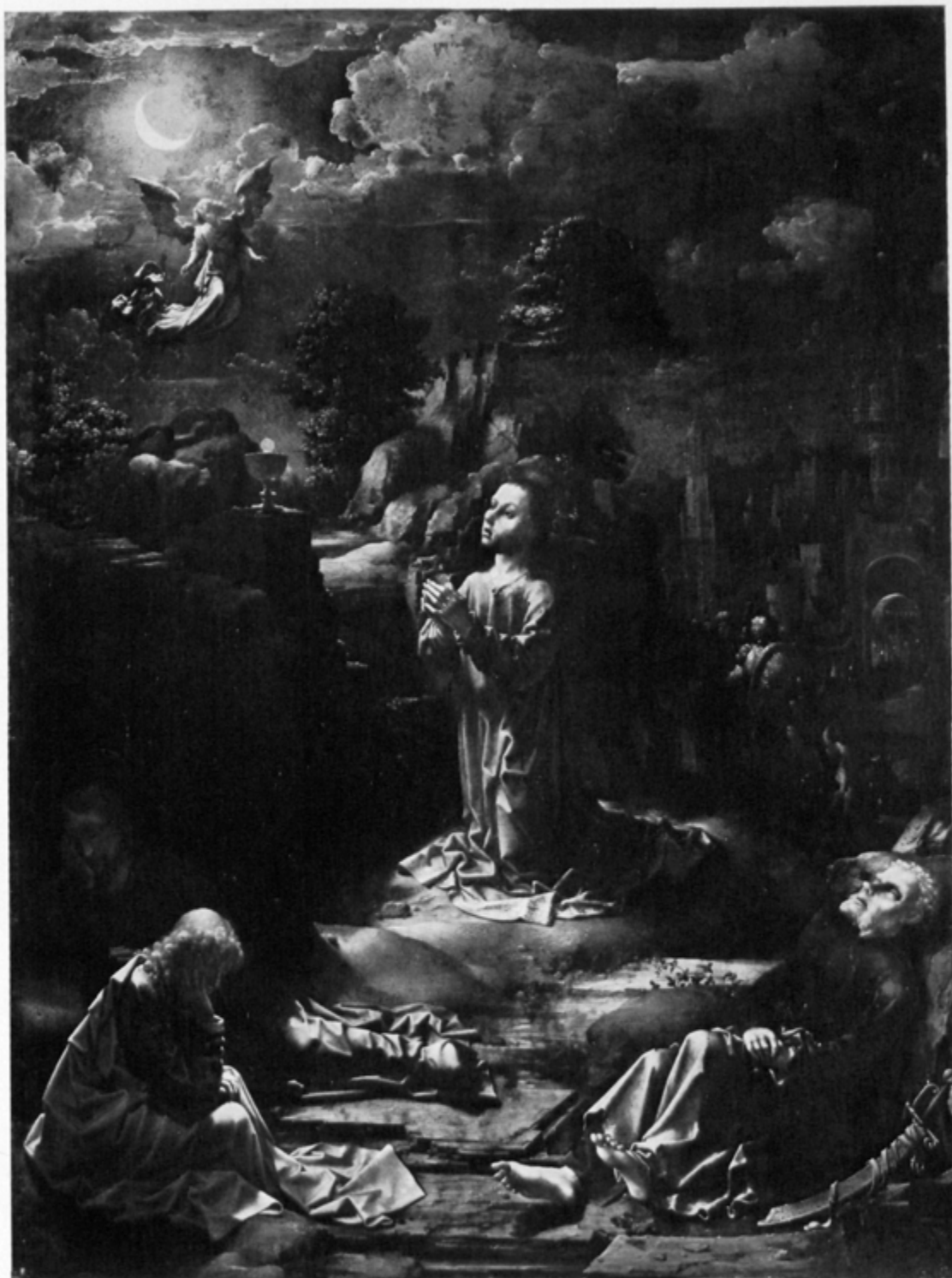


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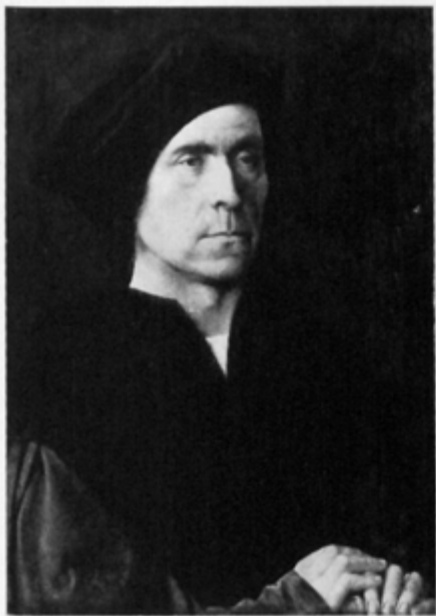
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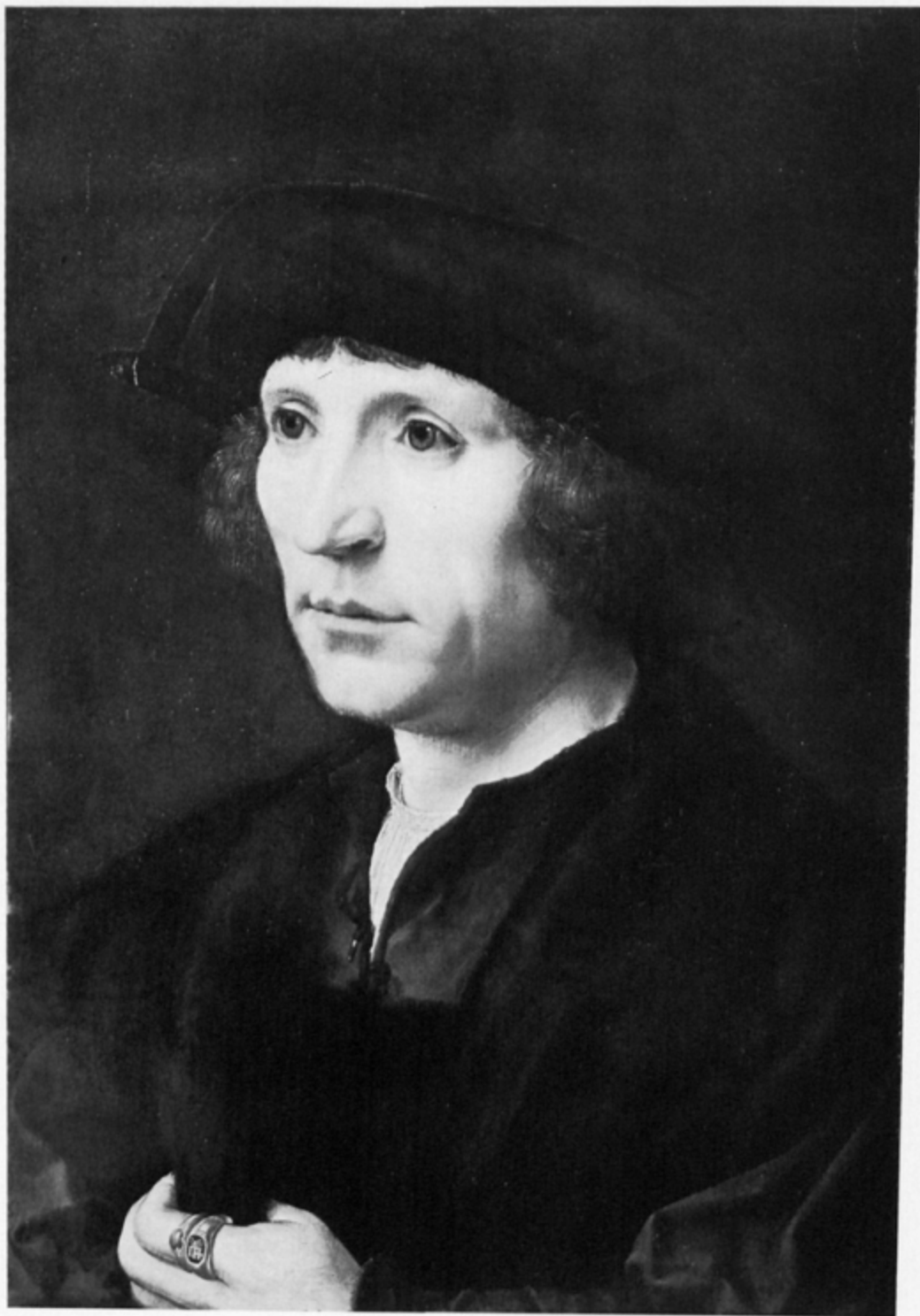
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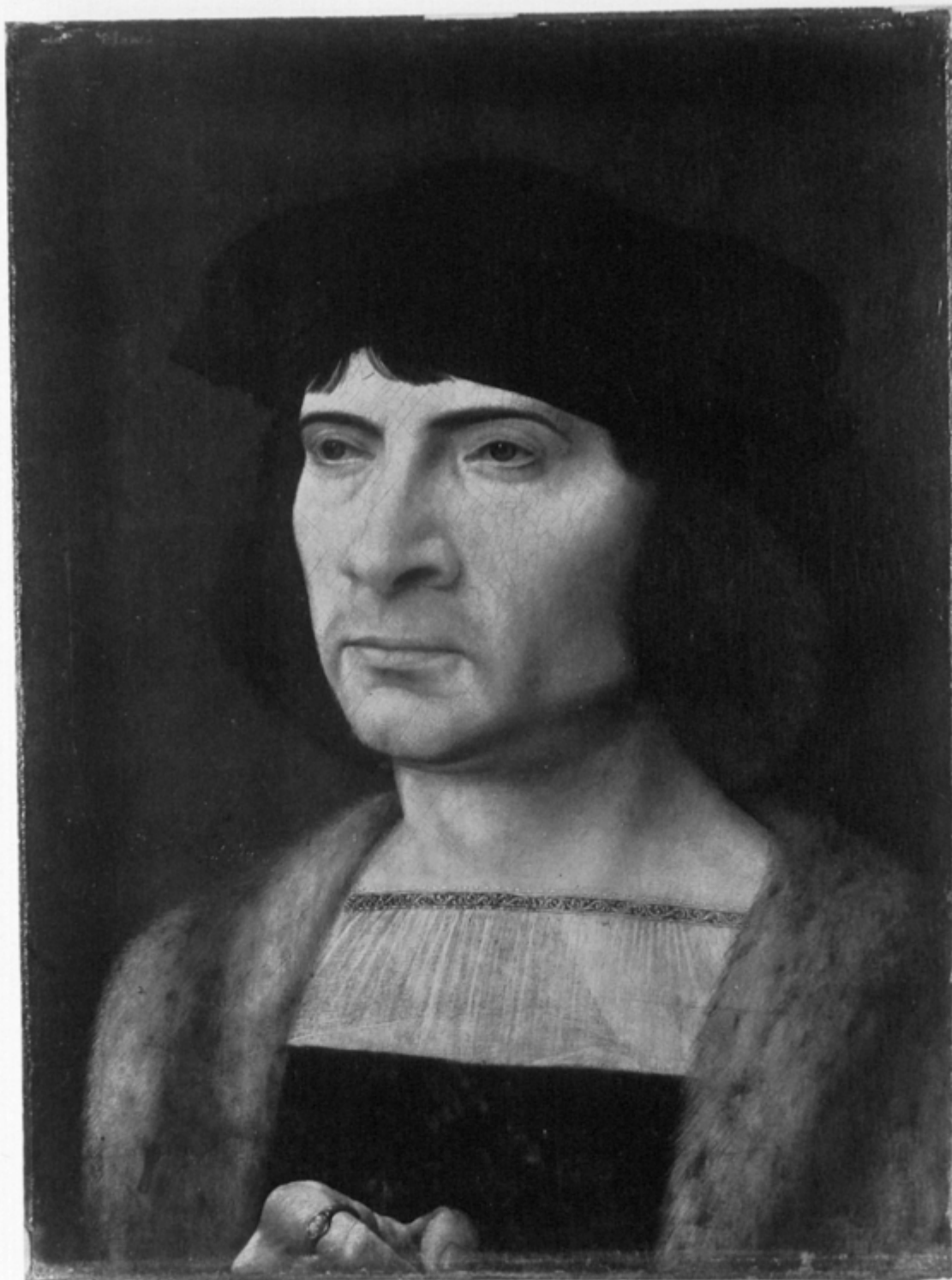


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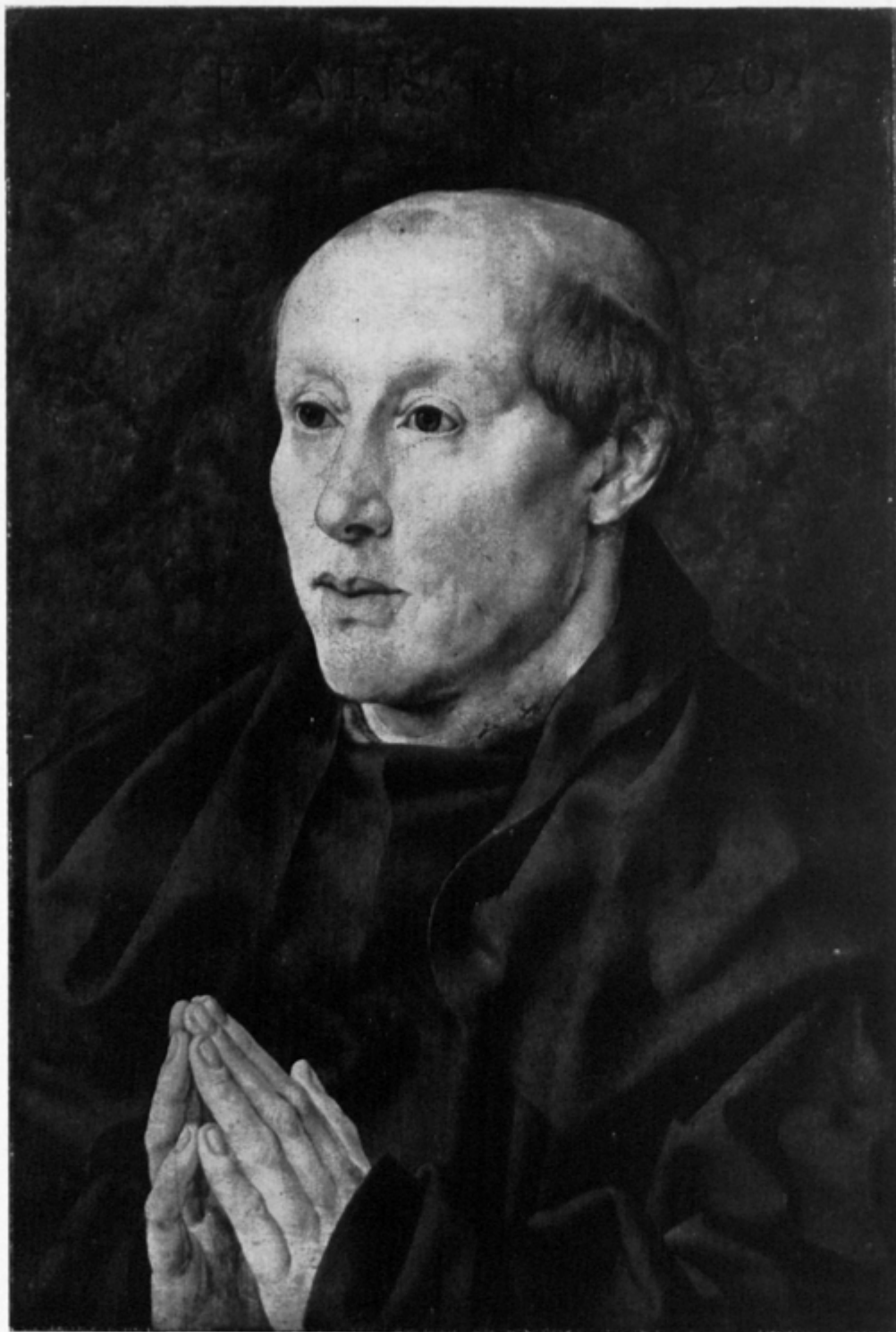
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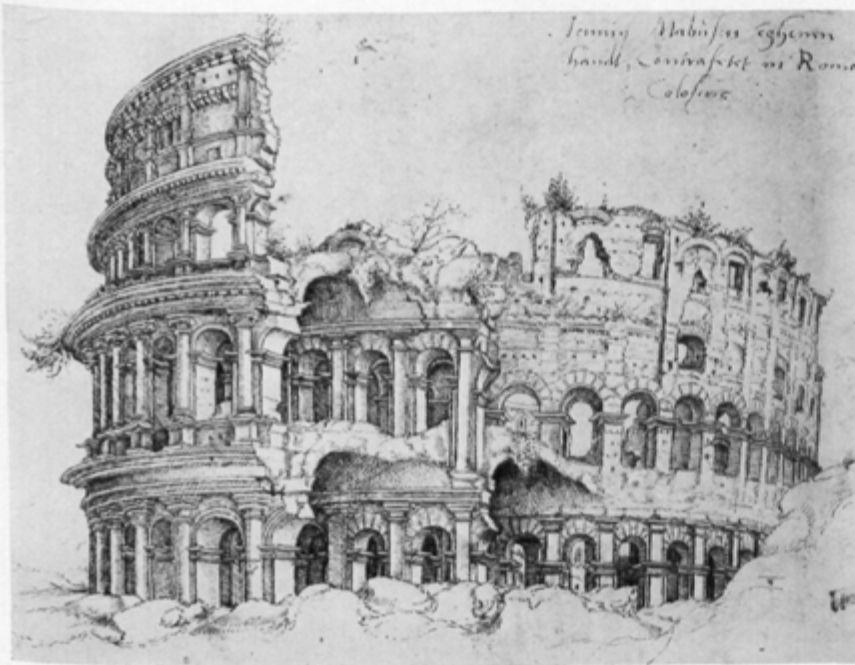
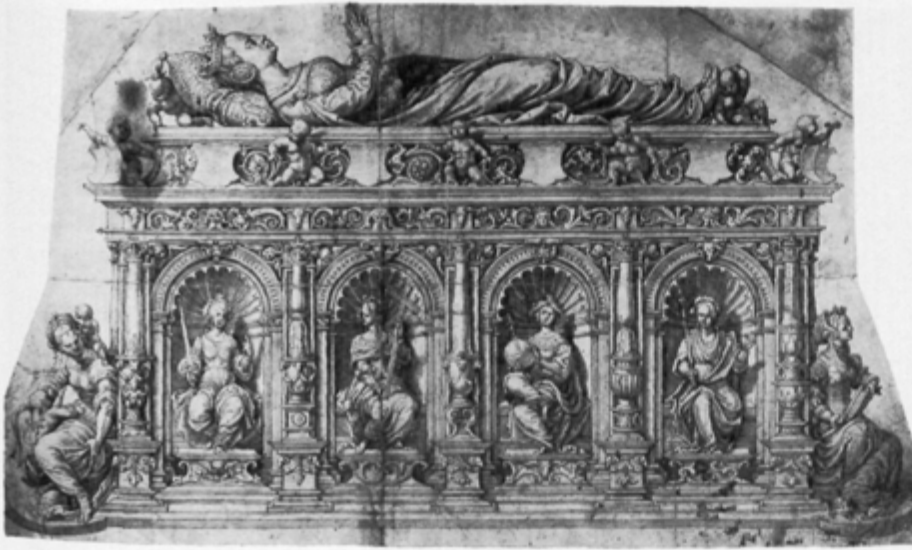
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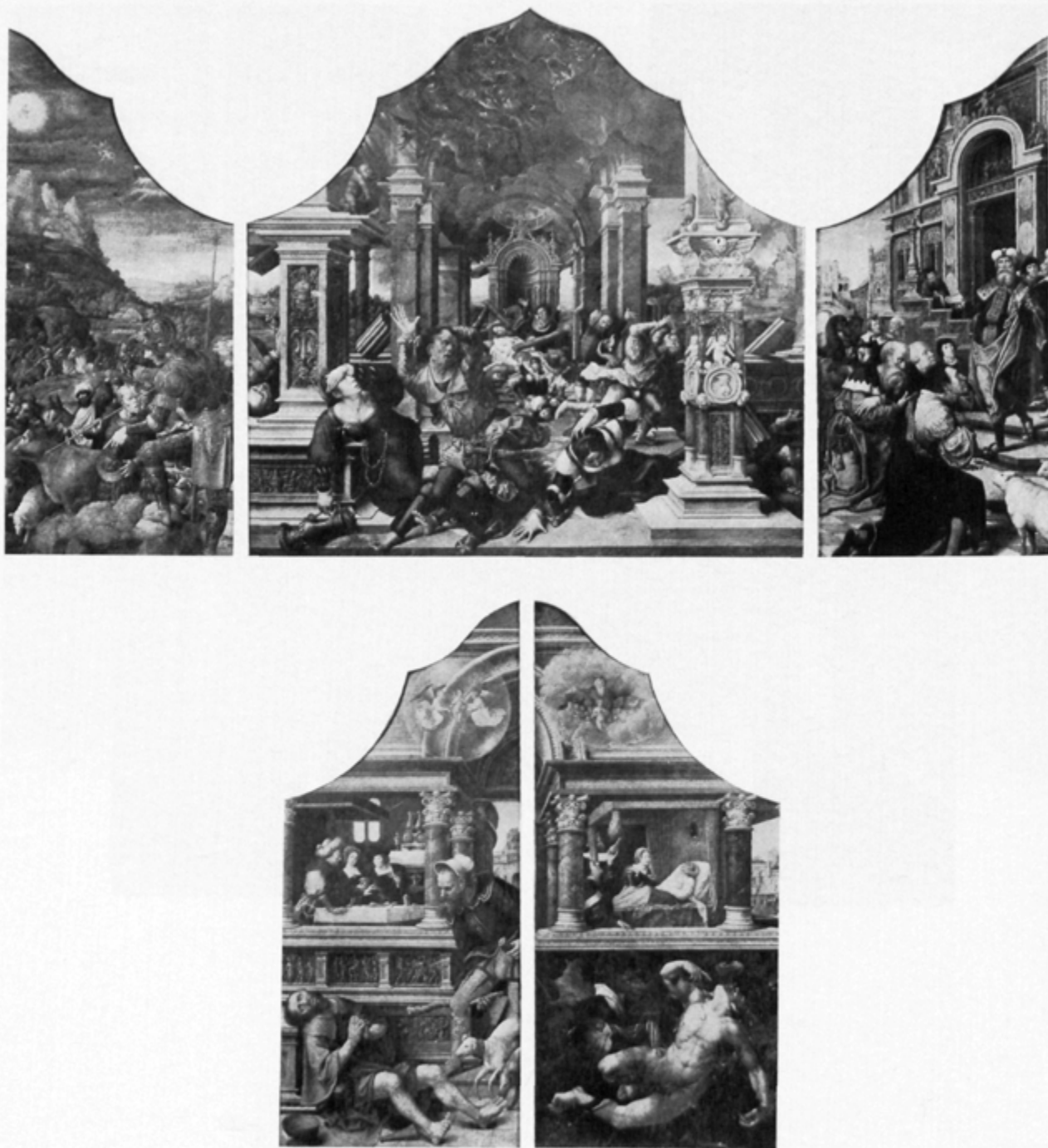


84. B. van Orley. Altarpiece of the Death of the Virgin. Brussels, Musée de l'Assistance Publique



84. B. van Orley. Altarpiece of the Death of the Virgin, Centrepiece. *Brussels, Musée de l'Assistance Publique*





85. B. van Orley. Altarpiece of the Visitations of Job. Brussels, *Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique*



85. B. van Orley. Altarpiece of the Visitations of Job, Centrepiece. *Brussels, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique*

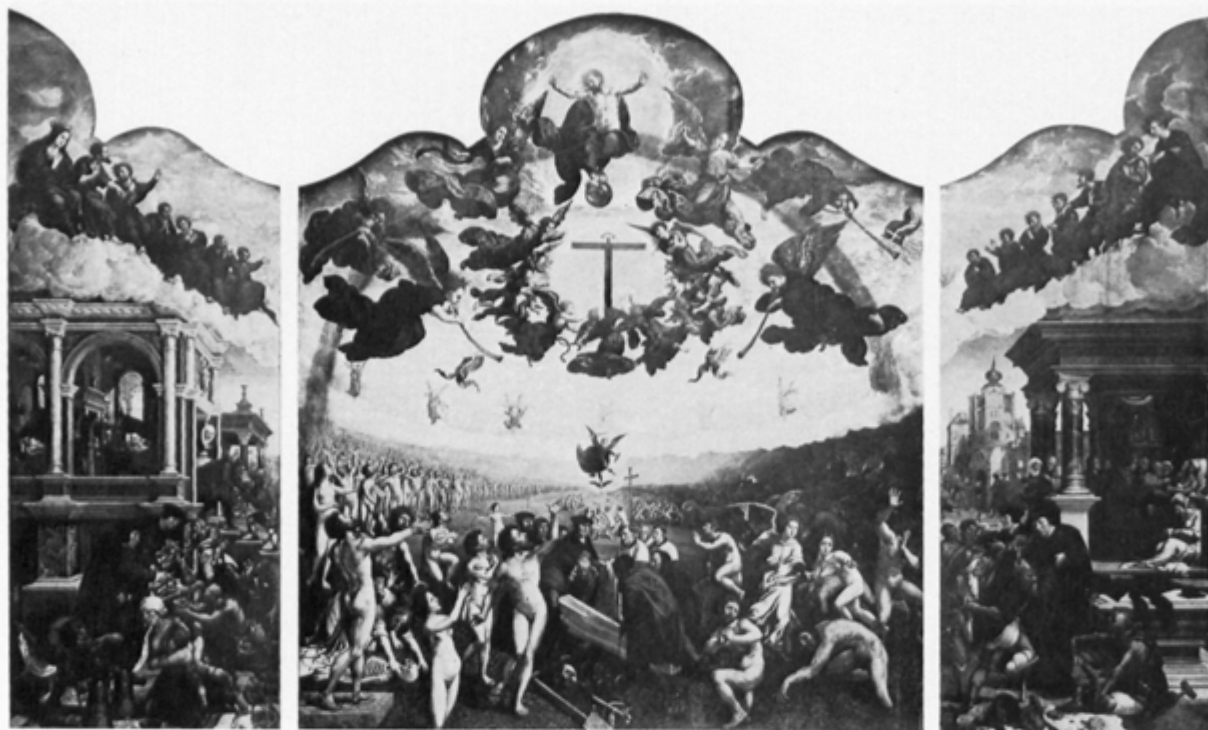




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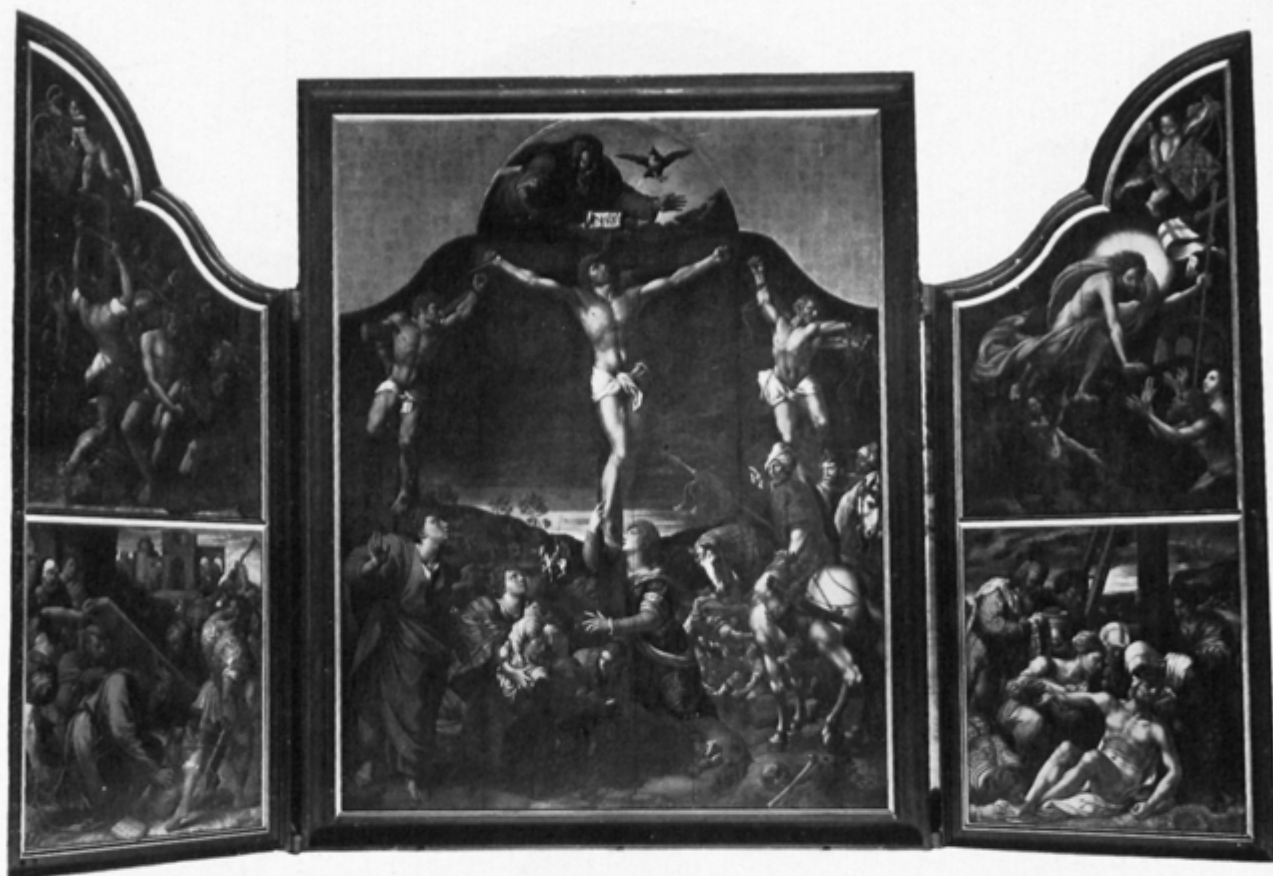




87. B. van Orley. Altarpiece of the Last Judgment and the Seven Mercies. *Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten*



87. B. van Orley. Altarpiece of The Last Judgment and The Seven Mercies, Centrepiece. *Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten*



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88 | 88a | 88b

88. B. van Orley. Altarpiece of the Christ on the Cross. Bruges, Church of Notre-Dame. 88 a. B. van Orley, Copy. Altarpiece of the Christ on the Cross, Centrepiece. Madrid, Museo Arqueologico Nacional. 88 b. B. van Orley, Copy. Christ on the Cross. Formerly New York, Art Market (Ehrich)



89. B. van Orley. Altarpiece of the Seven Sorrows of Mary. Besançon, Musée des Beaux-Arts et d'Archéologie



90. B. van Orley. Diptych, Betrothal of the Virgin, Christ among the Doctors, with Reverse, Angel Holding an Armorial Bearing. *Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art, Samuel H. Kress Foundation*



91
91 a

91. B. van Orley. A Pair of Shutters, St. Louis Giving Alms. Martyrdom of St. Catherine, *London*, Mrs. G.W. Mallinckrodt-Schroder collection. 91 a. B. van Orley, Copy. Martyrdom of St. Catherine. *Kiev*, National Museum of Occidental and Oriental Art



92. B. van Orley. A Pair of Shutters, *Knighting of a Youthful Saint*, with Reverse, *Virgin and Child*. *Kansas City, Mo., Nelson Gallery-Atkins Museum*. *Birth of St. John the Baptist*, with Reverse, *Man of Sorrows*. Formerly *Amsterdam, Art Market (P. de Boer)*



92. B. van Orley. A Pair of Shutters, Virgin and Child Surrounded by Saints, with Reverse, Abbot. *Amsterdam, Mrs. Wetzlar collection. Beheading of St. John the Baptist, with Reverse, Lisbon, Dr. Ricardo Espírito Santo Silva collection. The Reverse, Abbot, Formerly New York, Art Market*



93. B. van Orley. A Pair of Shutters, Legend of St. Anne. Brussels, *Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique*





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94. B. van Orley. A Pair of Panels, Left Panel, The Seven Joys of Mary. Rome, Galleria Colonna. (94). B. van Orley, Copy. Virgin and Child with Angels. Worcester, Mass., Worcester Art Museum. (94). B. van Orley, Copy. Virgin and Child. Strasbourg, Musées de la Ville de Strasbourg, on loan from the Musée du Louvre, Paris



94. B. van Orley. A Pair of Panels, Right Panel, The Seven Sorrows of Mary.
Rome, Galleria Colonna



95. B. van Orley. Mater Dolorosa with the Seven Sorrows of Mary. Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten



Plate

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96. B. van Orley. From a Pair of Panels, *Agony in the Garden*, London, Mrs. O. Matthiesen collection. 97. B. van Orley. From a Pair of Panels, *Christ Carrying the Cross*. Oxford, Oriel College



99. B. van Orley. A Pair of Shutters, Right Shutter, St. Helena in Rome, with Reverse, Christ Carrying the Cross. Brussels, *Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique*



99. B. van Orley. A Pair of Shutters, Left Shutter, Scene from a Legend.
Turin, Galleria Sabauda





102 | 103

104 | 104 a

102. B. van Orley. Annunciation. Oslo, National Gallery. 103. B. van Orley. Annunciation. Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum. 104. B. van Orley. Nativity. Brussels, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique. 104 a. B. van Orley, Copy. Nativity. Formerly Munich, Helbing Auction (Museen der Stadt Aachen)



105 |
106 a | 106 c

B. van Orley. 105. Adoration. Philadelphia, John G. Johnson Collection. 106 a. B. van Orley, Copy. Altarpiece of the Adoration, Centrepiece. Brussels, *Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique*. 106 c. B. van Orley, Copy. Adoration. Formerly London, Art Market (Th. Harris).



Plate
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106 b | 107
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106 b. B. van Orley, Copy. Adoration. *Schleissheim (Alte Pinakothek, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Munich)*. 107. B. van Orley. Presentation in the Temple. *Formerly Bergamo, Frizzoni collection*. 108. B. van Orley. Circumcision, with Reverse, Fragment of a Christ Shown to the People. *Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum*



110. B. van Orley. Christ Shown to the People. Tournai, Cathedral of Notre-Dame



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112 | 113

111. B. van Orley. Preparations for the Crucifixion. *Edinburgh, National Galleries of Scotland.* 112. B. van Orley. Christ on the Cross. *Berlin-Dahlem, Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen.* 113. B. van Orley. Christ on the Cross with Caritas and Justitia. *Rotterdam, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen*



114 | 115

116 | 117

114. B. van Orley. *Mourners beneath the Cross*. Hovingham Hall, Sir William Worsley collection. 115. B. van Orley. *Lamentation*. Maestricht, Bonnefantenmuseum. 116. B. van Orley. *Lamentation*. Formerly Stockholm, Sjöstrand collection. 117. B. van Orley. *Lamentation*. Formerly Paris, Art Market (Kraemer)



120 | 118

119 | 121

118. B. van Orley. Christ at the Home of Mary with a Following of Liberated Ancestors. *Formerly New York, Art Market (Ehrich).* 119. B. van Orley. Virgin and Child with St. Anne. *Formerly Madrid, Don Juan Lafora collection.* 120. B. van Orley. Magdalene. *Formerly De Hartekamp, von Pannwitz collection.* 121. B. van Orley. St. Matthew Enthroned. *Formerly Plausdorf, von Goldammer collection*



122 | 123

122. B. van Orley. Archangel Michael. Munich, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Pinakothek. 123. B. van Orley. St. Norbert Preaching. Munich, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Pinakothek



125 a | 125 b
125 c | 125 d

125 a. B. van Orley, Copy. Virgin and Child. Madrid, Museo del Prado. 125 b. B. van Orley, Copy. Virgin and Child. Oldenburg, Landesmuseum. 125 c. B. van Orley, Copy. Cadiz, Museo Provincial. 125 d. B. van Orley, Copy. Formerly Paris, Marquis de Victoire de Heredia Auction



124. B. van Orley. *Virgin and Child*. New York, *Metropolitan Museum of Art*



126	126 a
	126 b
126 d	126 c

126. B. van Orley. *Virgin and Child*. Milano, *Pinacoteca Ambrosiana*. 126 a. B. van Orley, Copy. *Virgin and Child*. Glasgow, *Art Gallery and Museum*. 126 b. B. van Orley, Copy. *Virgin and Child*. Nuremberg, *Germanisches Nationalmuseum*. 126 c. B. van Orley, Copy. *Virgin and Child*. Berlin-Dahlem, *Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen*. 126 d. B. van Orley, Copy. *Virgin and Child*. Formerly London, *Art Market* (Spanish Art Gallery)



128 a | 128 b

128 a. B. van Orley, Copy. Virgin and Child. *Toronto, Art Gallery of Ontario.* 128 b. B. van Orley, Copy. Virgin and Child with Joseph. *Leningrad, The Hermitage*



129 | 129 a

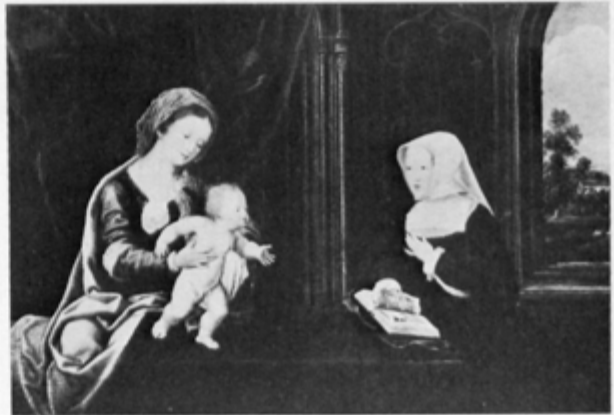
129. B. van Orley. *Virgin and Child with a Throne Structure*. Madrid, *Museo del Prado*. 129 a. B. van Orley, Copy. *Virgin and Child with a Throne Structure*. Waddesdon Manor, *The National Trust*



130 | 131

132 | 132 a

130. B. van Orley. *Virgin and Child*. London, National Gallery. 131. B. van Orley. *Virgin and Child*. Brussels, Private collection. 132. B. van Orley. *Virgin and Child with the Boy St. John*. Madrid, Museo del Prado. 132 a. B. van Orley, Copy. *Virgin and Child with the Boy St. John*. Madrid, Museo del Prado



133 | (133)
133 a | 133 b

133. B. van Orley. Virgin and Child. Munich, Prince of Wied collection. (133). B. van Orley(?). Portrait of the Regent Margaret. Formerly Amsterdam, Art Market (Muller). 133 a. B. van Orley, Copy. Diptych, Virgin and Child, Portrait of the Regent Margaret. Formerly Mons, Lescarts collection. 133 b. B. van Orley, Copy. Virgin and Child, Portrait of the Regent Margaret. Formerly Munich, Art Market (Böhler)



134 | 135 a
| Add. 166

134. B. van Orley. *Virgin and Child*. *Polesden Lacey Mansion, The National Trust*. 135 a. B. van Orley, *Copy. Virgin and Child*. *Los Angeles, County Museum*. Add. 166. B. van Orley. *Virgin and Child*. *Brussels, Gendebien Collection*



136 | $\frac{136 \text{ a}}{136 \text{ b}}$

136. B. van Orley. Virgin and Child. Formerly *The Hague, Art Market* (K.W. Bachstitz). 136 a. B. van Orley, Copy. Virgin and Child. *Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum*. 136 b. B. van Orley, Copy. Virgin and Child. *Pommersfelden, Castle of the Counts of Schönborn*



137 a | 138

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137 a. B. van Orley, Copy. Virgin and Child. *Donaueschingen, Fürstliche Fürstenbergische Sammlungen*. 138. B. van Orley. Holy Family. *Lugano-Castagnola, Thyssen-Bornemisza Art Collection*. 139. B. van Orley. Holy Family. *Paris, Musée du Louvre*



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140. B. van Orley. Holy Family. *Madrid, Museo del Prado.* 140 a. B. van Orley, Copy. Holy Family. *Brussels, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique.* 141. B. van Orley. Holy Family. *Formerly Brussels, Dansette collection*



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142 a | 142 b | 142 c

142 a. B. van Orley, Copy. Portrait of Charles V. *Paris, Musée du Louvre.* 142 b. B. van Orley, Copy. Portrait of Charles V. *Naples, Museo di Capodimonte.* 142 c. B. van Orley, Copy. Portrait of Charles V. *Paris, Musée du Louvre.*
143. B. van Orley. Portrait of Charles V. *Budapest, Museum of Fine Arts*



144. B. van Orley. Portrait of the Physician Georges de Zelle. Brussels, *Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique*



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145. B. van Orley. Portrait of a Gentleman. *Brussels, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique.* 147. B. van Orley. Portrait of a Husband and His Wife. *Florence, Uffizi*



146. B. van Orley. Portrait of Jean Carondelet. *Munich, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Pinakothek*



148 | 150

148. B. van Orley. Portrait of a Man. *Dresden, Gemäldegalerie, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen*. 150. B. van Orley. Portrait of a Young Man. *Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum*



149. B. van Orley. Portrait of an Aged Minister of State. Brussels, *Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique*



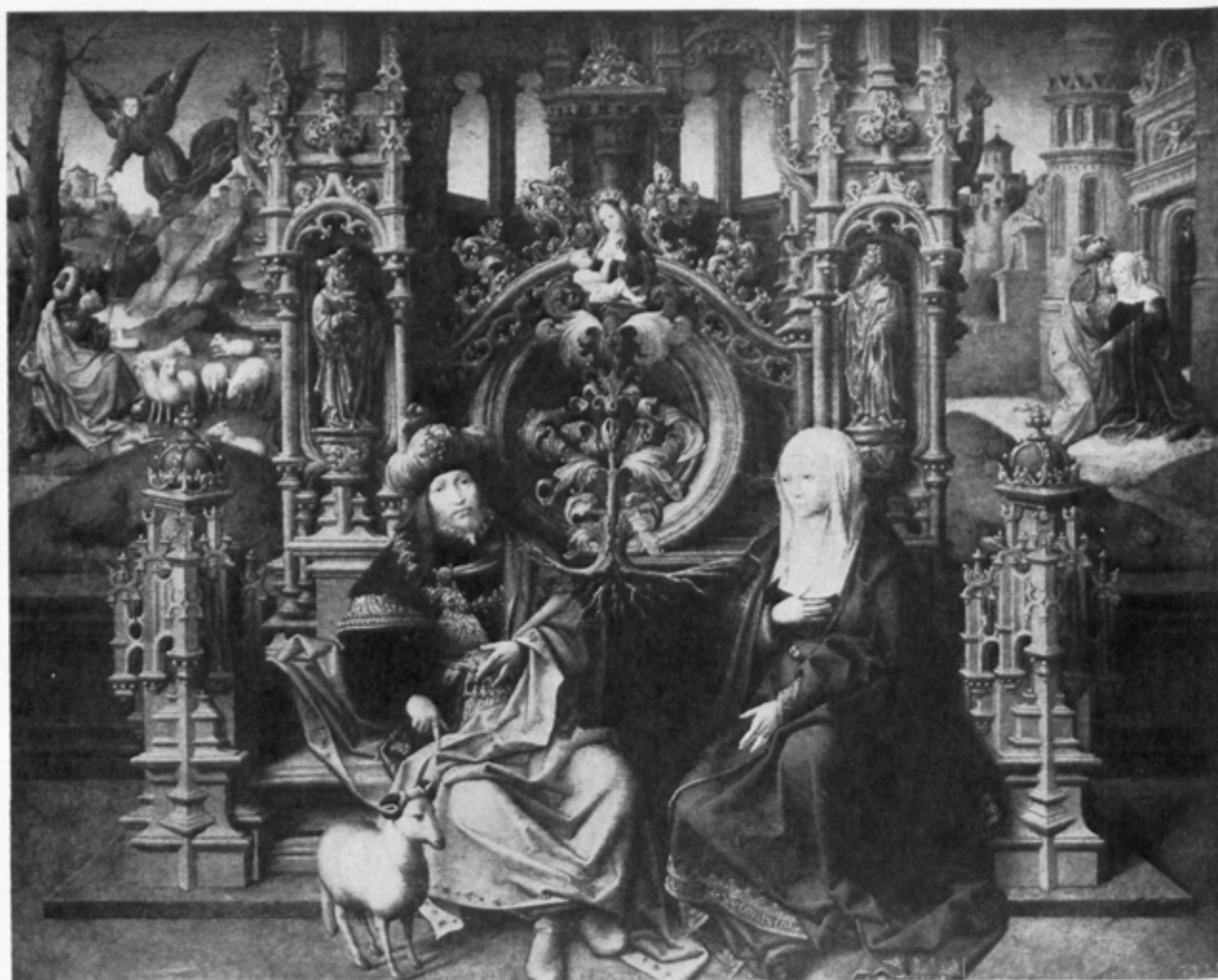
151 a | 151 b
151 c | 151 d | 151 e

151 a. B. van Orley, Copy. Portrait of Margaret of Austria. Formerly Paris, Art Market (Drouot). 151 b. B. van Orley, Copy. Portrait of Margaret of Austria. Brussels, *Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique*. 151 c. B. van Orley, Copy. Portrait of Margaret of Austria. Formerly Paris, *Carvalho* collection. 151 d. B. van Orley, Copy. Portrait of Margaret of Austria. Hampton Court, *Royal Collections*. 151 e. B. van Orley, Copy. Portrait of Margaret of Austria. Antwerp, *Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten*.



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152. B. van Orley. Portrait of the Second Daughter of Philip Haneton. *Edinburgh, National Galleries of Scotland.* 153. B. van Orley. Portrait of a Youthful Princess. *Formerly Barmen, Neumann collection.* 154. B. van Orley. A Roman Soldier and a Kneeling Man. *Leipzig, Museum der Bildenden Künste*



C. van Coninxloo. Parents of the Virgin. Brussels, *Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique*. See p. 88







J. van Coninxloo. Shutters of the Penso di Mondari Altarpiece (Saluces Altarpiece). Brussels, *Musée Communal*. See p. 88

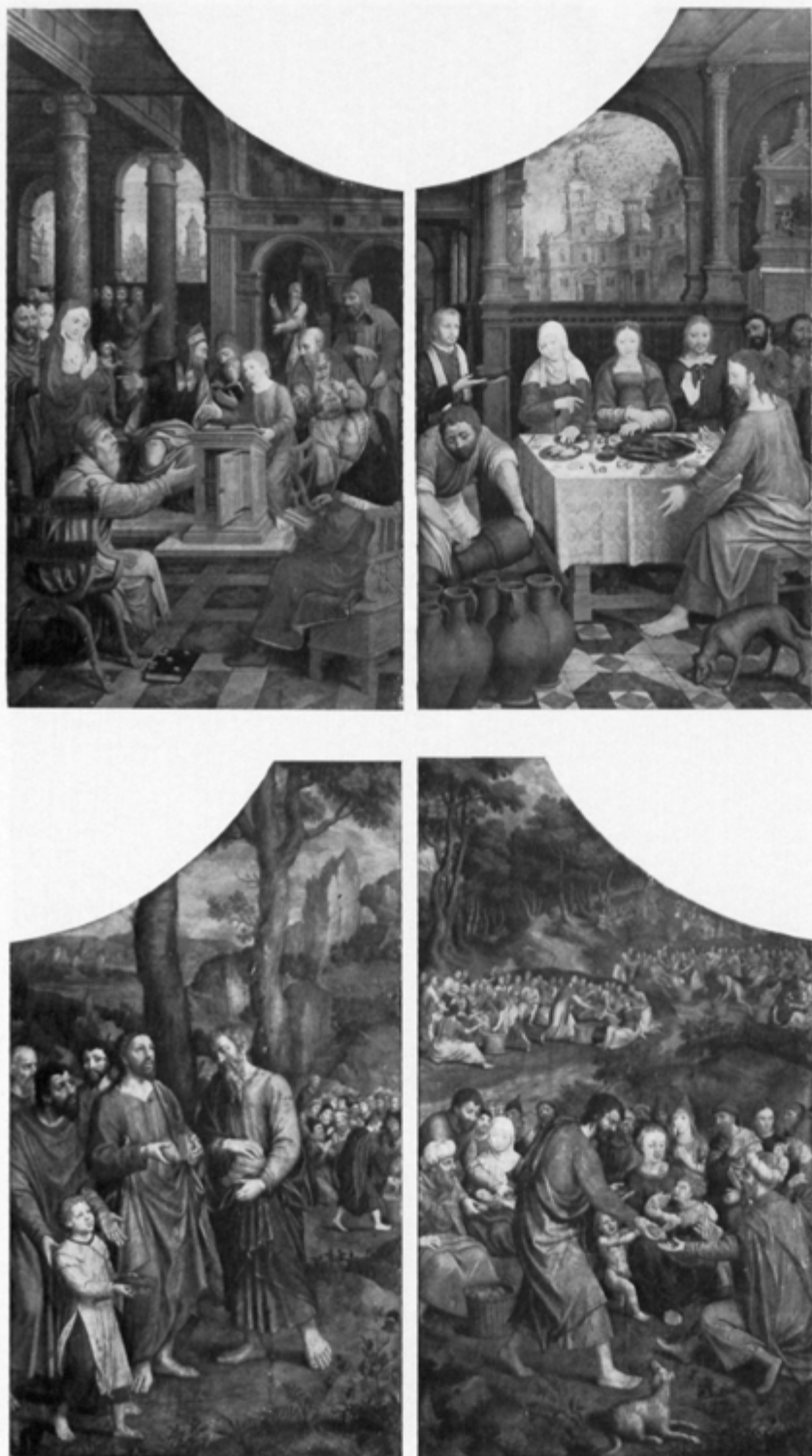


J. van Coninxloo. Altarpiece of the Holy Kindred. Brussels, *Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique*. See p. 88



A
—
B

A. J. van Coninxloo. A Pair of Panels, Presentation in the Temple, Christ Taking Leave of His Mother. Rouen, *Musée des Beaux-Arts*. See p. 88. B. J. van Coninxloo. Birth of the Virgin, with Reverse, Presentation in the Temple. Brussels, *Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique*. See p. 88



J. van Coninxloo. A Pair of Shutters, with Reverse. *Brussels, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique.* See p. 88





Master of Güstrow. Altarpiece of the Crucifixion. Schleissheim (*Alte Pinakothek, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Munich*). See p. 89



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A. Master of Güstrow. St. Catherine. Formerly Berlin, v. Hollitscher collection. See p. 89. B. B. van Orley, Follower. A Pair of Shutters. Brussels, *Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique*. See p. 81



Suppl. 155. J. Gossart. Holy Family. Hamburg, Kunsthalle



Suppl. 157 | Suppl. 156

Add. 162 | Add. 163

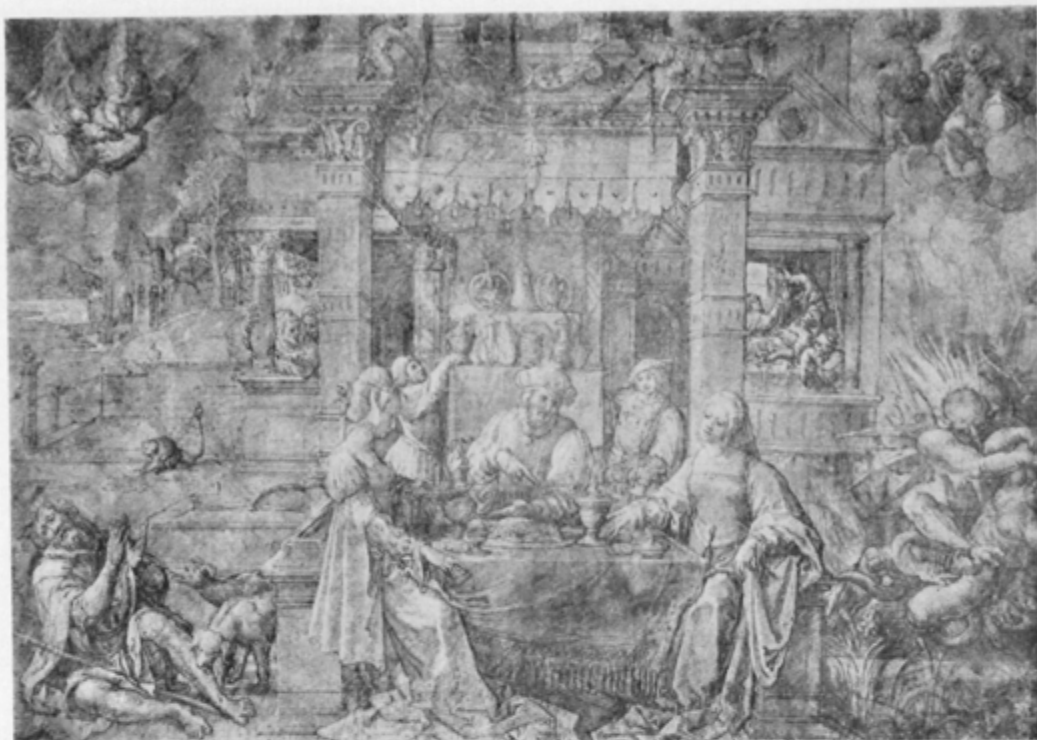
Suppl. 156. J. Gossart. *Metamorphosis of Salmacis and Hermaphroditus*. Rotterdam, *Boymans-van Beuningen Museum*.
Suppl. 157. J. Gossart. *Lucretia*. *Kreuzlingen, H. Kisters collection*. Add. 162. J. Gossart. *Diptych, Virgin and Child*,
Portrait of Don Juan Zuñiga y Avellaneda. Barcelona, *Capilla Real, el Palau*. Add. 163. J. Gossart. *Holy Family*.
Bilbao, *Museo de Bellas Artes y Arte Moderno*



Add. 165 | Suppl. 159

Suppl. 158 | Suppl. 161

Suppl. 158. B. van Orley. Christ Carrying the Cross. *Maestricht, Bonnefantenmuseum*. Suppl. 159. B. van Orley. Portrait of the Regent Margaret as Magdalene. *Schleissheim (Alte Pinakothek, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Munich)*. Suppl. 161. B. van Orley. Christ on the Cross. *Hartford (Conn.), Wadsworth Atheneum*. Add. 165. J. Gossart. Portrait of a Man. *Moscow, National Pushkin Museum*



A
B

A. B. van Orley, Drawing, *The Parable of Dives and Lazarus*. London, British Museum. See p. 67. B. Tapestry after B. van Orley, *The Last Supper*. New York, Robert Lehman collection. See p. 77



IOANNI MABVSIO, PICTORI.

*Tuque adeo nostris seculum dicere, Mabusi,
Versibus ad graphicen erudisti tuum.
Nam quis ad aspectum pigmenta potius alter
Florida Apollinis illineret tabulis?
Arte alijs, esto, tua tempora cede secutis.
Peniculi ductor par tibi, rarus erit.*



THEODORO HARLEMIO, PICTORI.

*Bernard van Orley, d. Brussels
Huc Gades, Theodore, tuam quoque Belgica semper
Laude nihil ficta tollet ad astra manum, ver
Ipsa tuis rerum genitrice expressa figuris
Te Natura sibi dum timet arte parem.*

A | B

A. Engraving. I.-H. Wiericx. Portrait of J. Gossart, from D. Lampsonius «Pictorum Aliquot ... Effigies». Antwerp, 1572. Brussels, Cabinet des Estampes, Bibliothèque Royale. B. Engraving. I.-H. Wiericx. Portrait of B. van Orley, from D. Lampsonius «Pictorum Aliquot ... Effigies». Antwerp, 1572. Brussels, Cabinet des Estampes, Bibliothèque Royale

Early Netherlandish Painting

This new edition of Friedländer's monumental work 'Die Altniederländische Malerei' is based on the following principles: Friedländer's text stands unchanged in English translation. The catalogues are brought up-to-date, especially in respect of the location of the paintings. The total of 1260 illustrations in the original edition has been brought up to more than 3600. Concise editorial comments on recent research and notes on the individual works are placed at the end of each volume. An index completes each volume, and in addition a general index covering the whole of the 14 volumes will be incorporated in Volume XIV.

- I The van Eycks—Petrus Christus
- II Rogier van der Weyden and the Master of Flémalle
- III Dieric Bouts and Joos van Gent
- IV Hugo van der Goes
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- VI Memling and Gerard David
- VII Quentin Massys
- VIII Jan Gossart and Bernart van Orley
- IX Joos van Cleve, Jan Provost, Joachim Patenier
- X Lucas van Leyden and other Dutch Masters of the Time
- XI The Antwerp Mannerists—Adriaen Ysenbrant
- XII Jan van Scorel and Pieter Coeck van Aelst
- XIII Anthonis Mor and his Contemporaries
- XIV Pieter Bruegel—General Index

